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ISSUES OF THE COMING ELECTIONS.

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MR. WILSON:

THE results of the elections of 1890 and 1892 placed the Democratic party in control of the Federal Government on the Fourth of March, 1893. Although a period of thirty-two years had elapsed since its last possession of such control, and other and very difficult public questions were now to be met and dealt with, its fundamental and historic principles were as directly applicable to current issues as they ever had been in the more than hundred years of the party's existence. Since 1874, with two conspicuous and warning exceptions, the American people had given the Democrats supremacy in that branch of Congress which is directly chosen by themselves. Under other parliamentary governments, supremacy, in the popular branch of the legislature, would have carried with it, virtually, the full lawmaking power, and in most cases the executive power also. But under our constitutional system political revolutions must be longer and more persistent to make the will of the people potential for change in both of these departments; and with one vote in Nevada, equal, so far as the Senate is concerned, to one hundred votes in New York or Penn-

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sylvania, it is possible to conceive of a permanent inability of a vast numerical majority of the American people to put into law their wishes and their decisions at the polls. Now that we are about to go to the country again for the election of a House of Representatives, and in one-third of the States for the election of Legislatures which are to choose United States Senators, the issue is presented to the people whether they shall continue the Democratic party in power or shall turn over the next Congress to the Republicans. Such an issue should, and I believe will, be settled not by such criticism as that of Senator Lodge in his paper on "The Results of Democratic Victory" in the September number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, or by like railing in Republican papers against the deeds or omissions of their opponents, but upon a review of past experience with both parties, and from a knowledge of the general policies and tendencies of each when intrusted with power.

When the people voted the Democratic party into power, after long and deliberate debate, they did so because, as President Harrison admitted in his last message, they were in favor of a "new policy." That policy included not only a reversal of much past Republican legislation, but reform, through closer responsibility to the people, in the administration of the government generally. The chief reforms called for by the popular revolution may be thus summarized; *first*, a repeal of the Sherman Act for the purchase and storage of silver bullion; *second*, a repeal of the Federal Election Law; *third*, an administration of our pension system alike just to the soldier and to the taxpayer, and which should carefully discriminate between justice and liberality to the one, and profligacy and partisanship at the expense of the other; *fourth*, greater economy in public expenditures; *fifth*, an extension of the reform of the civil service; and *lastly*, but preëminently, the repeal of the McKinley Bill, and a return to tariff taxation for revenue only. So long and so important a catalogue seems like "reformation in a flood," and any party which could carry out such a programme, even under the most favorable circumstances, should deserve the gratitude and support of the people. But no fair man will sit in judgment upon the efforts of the Democratic party who does not recognize that it has been hampered by two great obstacles, at every stage of its work, for which it was not itself at all responsible. The first was that its control of the Senate proved to be

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more nominal than real. In a full Senate it would have had a majority only by the casting vote of the Vice-President. With the existing vacancies in the Senate it could spare but one vote, and still have a majority. And no one will deny that party fealty sits rather lightly on more than one Senator accredited to the Democratic party. The second was that the party came into power when the sky was already darkening with the clouds of a financial storm, and that the storm soon broke in great fury, despite the faithful efforts of the administration to allay it.

Of course partisans like Mr. Lodge are quick to charge the new administration with the resulting disasters, but other people have longer and better memories. For months before the Harrison administration ended, the Treasury was in great pecuniary straits. New taxes or new issues of bonds would have been needed to meet ordinary running expenditures, had not the Sherman law passed to the available cash of the Treasury more than fifty million dollars deposited by the National Banks for the redemption of their notes, and had not Secretary Foster, by a change of bookkeeping, still further increased that cash by twenty million dollars of token and subsidiary coin, not before treated as a Treasury asset. The Secretary himself frankly informed the Ways and Means Committee, just prior to March 4, 1893, that additional income of at least fifty million dollars a year would be needed for the easy running of the government. Moreover, the free gold in the Treasury began steadily to diminish from the date of the passage of the Sherman law.

It was under these supremely grave and difficult circumstances that the Democratic party took the reins of government for the inauguration of its "new policy." The long threatening financial panic came and soon hardened into a severe commercial crisis. For neither was the Democratic party responsible, nor for the vicious laws which, if they did not beget the panic and the crisis, certainly quickened their coming and added to their fury. Its work had to be undertaken, therefore, amid those "counsels of calamity" which, as Mr. Burke said, "are seldom wise," and in the face of a rising outcry from partisans like Senator Lodge, who use the logic of Goodwin Sands and Tenterden Steeple, to charge that the physician himself was the cause of the very ills he was called upon to cure or to alle-

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viate. Let us consider, briefly, how far the Democratic party, in spite of these obstacles, has succeeded in effecting the several measures of reform demanded of it by the people when they put it into power.

And first as to the repeal of the Sherman Law. This repeal was promptly urged by the President upon the extra session of Congress, which he had called for that purpose, and was as promptly carried through a Democratic House under Democratic leadership, although, it is but fair to add, not as a strict party measure. Whatever benefit was to be had from such repeal, so far as the existing panic was concerned, was lost, however, by the long delay in the Senate; and right here I may say, both as to this delay and the almost culpably long consideration of the tariff bill in that chamber, that they were chiefly due to the refusal of the Senate to adopt any rules providing for the termination of debate. It being one of the earlier traditions of the Senate when its numbers were much fewer than they are now, that no Senator would speak on any matter except with the purpose of serious discussion, there was little need for such rules in former years. But the reason for such unlimited debate having long ceased, and the absence of such rules having led to gross abuses, it is intolerable that the popular will should be postponed or thwarted in that body so long as any Senator chooses to prevent a vote on a pending question, by any sort of disquisition on any imaginary subject. More than one excessive rate in the new tariff bill was forced into it by the threat of Mr. Quay and other Republican Senators to speak indefinitely; and thus the right to vote had in fact to be purchased by conceding unjust and unneeded taxes on the people. And for this impotency of the Senate as a legislative chamber, it is well known that the responsibility rests with the Republican as much as with the Democratic Senators. Moreover, it must be recalled that but for the resolute stand of the President there would not have been an unconditional repeal of the Sherman Law, but some sort of compromise measure unsatisfactory to the country and inadequate to the crisis. Senator Lodge makes bold to assert that the President himself was inclined to favor such compromise until he learned of the unyielding position of Senator Hill. This assertion, ventured by a Republican Senator, is entirely contrary to the understanding of those who were in Mr. Cleveland's counsels, and who, by virtue of their connec-

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tion with the repeal measure, had a right to know what his position was at every step in the long struggle.

The removal of the Sherman Law from the statute-books was a distinct command of the Democratic platform, and must be considered a great achievement for the Democratic administration. By such removal alone could the way be cleared for the future adoption of a wise and sound financial system. The law was a standing menace to such a system, and was satisfactory to neither the gold-standard nor the free-silver advocates.

Next in order was the repeal of the statutes providing for federal supervision of elections. These laws were a part of the Republican policy of intermeddling with State affairs, and pass into history along with the alien and sedition laws of the old Federalists, and the far more monstrous Force Bill from which we so narrowly escaped in the Fifty-first Congress. So also with Mr. Cleveland's inauguration there came a better administration of the pension laws—a most necessary and healthy reform which has been firmly and sturdily carried forward by Secretary Smith and Commissioner Lochren in the face of great clamor and misrepresentation from interested parties and partisans. The pension roll has been purged of many fraudulent claimants, and many such claimants have been prevented from getting upon that roll.

These reforms, together with the natural diminution of first payments, have resulted in a decrease of fifteen millions in the annual appropriation for pensions, with a promise of still further reduction without injustice to any meritorious claimant. In neither house of Congress have the committees reported as many private pension bills, so often mere matters of favoritism or of political influence, during the entire session just closed, as each house in former Congresses occasionally passed at a single sitting. This shows a healthier public sentiment and an excellent prospect of redeeming our pension system from the scandals that were gathering so thickly around it during the past administration, when one of Mr. Harrison's Commissioners of Pensions made the famous remark, "God help the surplus!"

As to the ordinary running expenses of the government the Democratic administration is able to show that it has made solid progress in substituting, according to Mr. Jefferson's happy phrase, "economy for taxation." Chairman Sayers, of the Ap-

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propriations Committee, whose carefulness of statement no one will impugn, was able to assure the House, at the close of the recent session, that the appropriations for the present fiscal year showed a net reduction of twenty-nine million dollars as compared with those of the last session of the last Congress, although they included eleven millions for rivers and harbors and an increase of over three millions for the navy, and of a like sum for the postal service. Omitting, as we properly may, from such comparison the River and Harbor Bill, which by recent custom is passed only at the first session of a Congress, we would have a net reduction of forty million dollars, with, as Mr. Sayers tells us, no contracts authorized to burden future Congresses, and six hundred offices abolished. Who can affirm, after such a showing as this, that the pledges of economy have not been faithfully met?

As to the reform of the civil service, it cannot be denied that whatever ground had been gained in the past has been firmly held and used as a starting-point for further progress. We have seen nothing like the scandalous looting of the railway mail service which signalized the incoming of Mr. Wanamaker, nor the slaughter of fourth-class postmasters, as in the palmy days of Clarkson. Removals of federal officers before the expiration of their commissions have been much rarer, and Mr. Bissell's introduction of a four-years term for fourth-class postmasters is a great advance upon any of his predecessors.

Lastly, the McKinley Bill has been repealed. True, the bill substituted for it is, and ought to be, a disappointment to tariff reformers in many parts of its schedules, and does not make such a reduction of taxes as the Democratic party has promised to the people. The reasons for this, and the parties responsible for it, thanks to the Democratic press, are well known to every reader in the United States. And nothing is more creditable to the party, or more assuring of continued progress, than its widespread and, apparently, unanimous censure of those who, by combination with the full Republican vote of the Senate, thwarted its efforts for a better tariff-reform bill. The bill which passed, however, with all of its defects and censurable features, contains, even by the admission of its severest critics, a most solid instalment of tariff reform, and will do much towards lightening taxation and securing freer play and larger markets for American industries. But its chief value and importance, after all, lie in the fact

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that it marks a change in our tariff legislation and starts us well on the way towards genuine revenue taxes. Every law and every system has its momentum. Protection, left to itself, eventually culminates in prohibition, while the momentum of even an imperfectly framed revenue tariff is steadily towards the goal of commercial freedom.

Such is a list of the reforms achieved by the Democratic party during the last eighteen months. Surely it is no insignificant list which shows economy in expenditure, with a lightening of the taxes which the people pay for the support of their government, and a much greater lightening of the taxes which they pay for the support of private industries; an improvement and purification of the pension system, which was so rapidly degenerating into a national scandal; the wiping out of a law that was fraught with menace to sound finance, and whose repeal opens the way for a proper settlement of that difficult issue; the obliteration of election laws which lay right across the grain of our federal system, and whose enforcement never failed to produce exasperation and bitter feeling, and to involve wasteful and irresponsible expenditures of public money; and a continued advance in the rescue of our civil service from spoils.

Conceding, as I willingly do, that there were unnecessary and harmful delay and some imperfect and bungling work, as in a popular government there always will be, in the accomplishment of these reforms; conceding all that may justly be said in censure of the sugar and other protective schedules of the new tariff, and of the un-Democratic or even sinister influence which moulded them, we may yet ask, with great confidence, why any Democrat should, for these reasons, wish to punish or to abandon his party in the fall election. What good results either to the country or to his party can he expect from turning over the next Congress to the Republican? Not one of the things I have enumerated would they have even attempted to do, with the possible exception of the repeal of the Sherman law, which they themselves put upon us in 1890. Against every other reform, whether accomplished in full or imperfect measure, they have stubbornly fought.

With a Republican Congress there could have been no action on the federal election laws, no repeal of the McKinley bill, not one cent's lessening of public taxes or of the tribute paid by the people to the Sugar Trust and other monopolies; no reduction

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in expenditures and no abolition of useless offices. With a Republican administration there would have been no purification of the pension system and no advancement of civil service reform. Leaving out of view the record of the Harrison administration on both the latter questions, we may well ask if the American people have forgotten their experiences since 1874 with Republican Congresses. Twice only in twenty years have they trusted themselves to a Republican House of Representatives, that of 1881, with Mr. Keifer as Speaker, and that of 1889, with Mr. Reed as Speaker and general autocrat. How quickly and tumultuously did they repent of their action, and by what tidal waves of popular anger and disgust—unequalled in our political contests—did they drive both of these Houses out of power as soon as they could get at them!

Did not the last Republican Congress unsettle finances by giving us the Sherman Law; dislocate business and load us with heavy burdens to monopoly by the McKinley Bill; increase appropriations for pensions by the dependent pension bill fifty or more million dollars per year, and introduce general and dangerous demoralization into our patriotic pension system? Did it not also vote bounties and subsidies and new offices, and thus launch us upon a billion-dollar scale of governmental expenditure? Did it not make a stupendous and nearly successful effort to degrade State governments, invade popular suffrage, and embroil sections and races by a force bill? Parties must be judged by their actions when in power, not by their professions when in the opposition.

It is a very easy thing, and for blind partisanship a very delightful thing, to take the seat of the scoffer and mock at the effort of those who in serious spirit undertake the work of administering government and reforming abuses. But despite the jeers of the scoffer and the angry outcries of those who profit by abuses, the work is a noble and patriotic one, and both they who attempt it, and they who do it even imperfectly, deserve the encouragement and support of good citizens. Even if one man or party falters or blunders a little in reforming, it is no reason why such man or party should be made to give way to those who made those reforms necessary. From them there is nothing to hope, but all to fear.

The Democratic party, by principle and tendency, by the tra-

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dition of its elders and its steady momentum, tends to economy, to low taxes, to revenue tariffs, immediate responsibility to the people, and no Federal interference with local rule. These are the very essentials of free and pure government. If the people want these things—and surely they need them more than at any other time in their history—that party, and that party alone, is the instrument they must use to secure them. Upon other great issues also the scale turns in its favor. It is as trustworthy as its opponents on the money question, while its ancient financial traditions are sounder than those of any great and long-lived party we have ever had. And what is truly a crowning merit: it is, and ever has been, a national party.

The Republican party, by its traditions and tendencies, the teachings of its leaders, past and present, and its whole history, has a steady momentum toward sectionalism, high government, interference with local rule and local control of elections, extravagant expenditures, heavy taxes, bounties, subsidies, and exorbitant protection. "Ideas of governmental meddling and centralization dominate it; class interests hold it firmly to evil courses." These things are incompatible with free and pure government. The American people need none of these things; only a small minority really desires them.

Except for the one great and now happily dead issue, for which they called that party into existence, they have never found it an instrument of reform. It is possible to bring the Democratic party up to its real principles and true mission and make it contribute immensely to the general welfare and to the perpetuation of free institutions. With the settlement of the slavery question the real mission of the Republican party ended. It could take up no policies and ideas of government except the old and rejected doctrines and ideas of Federalism, and these a free people will never tolerate except for brief intervals. The nearer, therefore, it has been brought of recent years to these principles and tendencies the less popular support it has had, and the more inimical it has shown itself to the general welfare of the country and to the perpetuation of free government. It has introduced the money power into politics, and thus produced the wild and passing vagaries of populism and other isms, which forget that there is no stable liberty except historic liberty, and that of all systems, free government must be a slow evolution out of

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the long past, not a creation of the brains of distressed politicians or impracticable philanthropists.

No party can be expected to reform abuses and evils which itself has produced, if in their maintenance rests its only hope of continued power.

The stream of Republicanism is poisoned from its source, and cannot wash away the pollutions which it brings in its own waters. It is vain for the people to expect it to cleanse the government, when it cannot cleanse itself, or hope for any "power divine" to henceforth wash the River Rhine.

WM. L. WILSON.

MR. REED:

CIVILIZATION from its very nature and definition is better than barbarism, and yet there are certain things in barbarism that one longs for on certain occasions. Republicanism is better than Democracy for the very same reason, and yet in the same manner it is a temptation to yearn sometimes for some of the weapons which Democracy uses and which we never seem able to employ. When the Republicans in 1890, with a Committee on Elections composed of the best lawyers and most judicious men of the House, passed upon sixteen cases of disputed elections and recorded their judgments, which were ratified by the House, finding their opponents right in seven cases, seating neither of the combatants in one and giving eight seats to their own side, the air was filled with outcries and the Democratic newspapers were double-leaded and headlined with indignation. In the present Congress the Democratic committee has already unseated three members out of a possible four with an unparalleled disregard of law and justice, and the silent air has reverberated with no remonstrance. No headlines of denunciation adorn our Republican newspapers, and in the House the events are forgotten in a day. Those who do not forget them rather long for some such barbaric sounds as our enemies used to set up upon occasions when they had small right to utter any reproachful language whatever. So in the endeavor to run the House of Representatives without adopting the rules of the 51st Congress, every principle of parliamentary law was overridden, and it was decided that business could be done before the journal was read; that a committee could re-

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port business that was never referred to it; that a sergeant-at-arms could hold an order of arrest over members of the House for ten days with power to execute it at his pleasure without any control of the House; that a motion to recommit a special rule was good when made by a Democrat, and bad when made by a Republican; and that motions not dilatory could be ruled out under a provision which related only to dilatory motions and many similar performances. When all these things and many others like them took place it did seem somewhat strange that no proper public condemnation was put upon them, especially as they are likely to become landmarks of oppression hereafter.

However, the causes of public apathy are simple, and on the surface. All things are relative, and the greatness of other events has entirely dwarfed these minor affairs; yet, in the long run, some of these minor affairs may prove troublesome to other generations. Some day, also, this country will awake to the very unhandsome treatment which contested election cases receive, and adopt some system by which justice will be done so that the scandals attached to election cases may disappear.

Of those greater events which have so commanded public attention it is difficult to adequately speak, and yet according to all law, human and divine, there is a perfect case against the Democratic pary. We not only have "a confessing accused," but one who has acted under no duress except that of his own conscience and whose confession has not only been full and complete as to the past, but abundant and superfluous as to the future. President and Senators, members and committeemen, have vied with each other in language about each other which exceeds in warmth and unkindness anything which even partisan prophecy has ever uttered. And the proofs of the correctness of these statements are so abundant that it seems useless to say another word as to the past.

One of our institutions has certainly received a great shock. That this shock is but temporary no good patriot can doubt, and yet it ought to be commented upon, if only for the light which it throws upon the capacity of the Democratic party to govern, which is, after all, the ultimate question now before the people.

Until this last Congress, whatever might be thought of individual members, the Senate as a body has always been reputed dignified, upright, and honorable. It has always commanded

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the respect of the people as the great conservative legislative branch. Never until this time has it been subject to universal reproach. When before in the history of this country has the Executive, in a public letter read to the other branch, openly charged the Senate with perfidy and treachery? It is certainly a strange spectacle, this conflict between the President and a Senate under control of his own party. And yet outside the sugar question, for which the President did not reproach them, what had they done except to look out for the interests of their constituents? Has there ever been any reply to Senator Gorman's declaration made in open Senate, that what the Senate did was but the redemption of pledges given during the election by the party managers, and which were absolutely necessary to enable the country to be carried? Senator Gorman's revelations as to sugar and the promises he gave to its friends were only samples of revelations he might have made, and samples of other promises he and his associates had given. Nor were these promises all secret. The hustings in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey rang with assurances that no harm should be done to the industries of the country. When, therefore, the so-called conservatives among the Democrats of the Senate rallied to preserve the interests of their constituents from the ravages of the South, why was that any more treachery and perfidy than the refusal of Mr. Wilson to draft and pass a bill for revenue only? When the platform demanded the extinction of all protection, why was it perfidy to favor protection on the general taxation plan instead of on the free raw material plan? Both coddled the manufacturers and both taxed the people. Why was either of them Democratic when both of them gave the lie direct to the platform? The only moral anybody can draw from this dispute is that whatever Democratic principles may hereafter be discovered to be they were certainly not put into the platform. It was because of the profound faith of our people that the Democratic party did not mean what it said, that we are in this predicament. But when a man does not mean what he says you can never tell what he does mean, except in the sorrowful way in which we are now learning the meaning of the Democratic platform.

The truth is that this dispute between the President and the Senate as to what Democratic principles are is the key to our unfortunate situation. Individual Democrats have principles, but

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the party has none. Mr. Wilson was so sure that the sugar part of the tariff was all wrong that he hoped at one time that Congress would never adjourn until the sugar tax was trampled under foot, and yet he himself led that frightful tumbling over each other with which the majority House fixed upon us the very tax he was denouncing. Mr. Wilson on that first occasion did not represent his party, for the very letter of the President which he caused to be read was exceedingly tolerant of sugar, and sorrowed only over protected coal and protected iron ore.

The whole Democratic party except Hill—if it could be called a Democratic party without Hill—in the Senate finds Democratic principle in taxed and monopolized sugar and taxed coal and taxed iron. Free raw material is Democratic principle in the White House, while taxed coal and iron pass muster in the Senate even after the presidential round-up and while Senators are yet quivering under the lash. Even the income tax, the only thing both houses agreed upon, which seems therefore to come nearer being a Democratic principle than anything else, has its maligners inside the party, and the President, forgetting that he advised it in a message, has plaintive regrets that it is part of the act.

It is just this discordant condition of things existing upon every subject to be legislated on which is the cause of this utter failure and collapse of the Democratic party as a governing party. All this arises really from the very nature of things. The President is not abusing the Senate, and accusing his party associates of perfidy and dishonor, of "communism of pelf," or of the other naughty things they have done, simply to amuse the public. The public is amused, but that is not his purpose. Not at all. He abuses them just as aforetime he abused the Republican party, because he does not agree with them any more than he did with us. The Senators did not charge that the President had duped them into the passage of the Senate Bill because they wanted to furnish an exhibition of party discord. They believed what they said, and the discord existed. Each party, believing the other totally wrong, was chafed by the common inability to act together or to act at all. We ought therefore in our reproaches to hit the right mark—the party, not the individuals. Why all this senseless abuse of each other by individual Democrats? It is not the individual Democrat who is wrong; it is the combination.

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How can those who do not think alike act together? What possible bond of united action can there be between Mr. Smith, who represents the manufacturing State of New Jersey, the industrial life of which is bound up in its workshops and mills, and a representative from a Southern State, permeated with the traditions of McDuffie and Free Trade? How can Senator Gorman, who knows so thoroughly and practically the industries of West Virginia, agree with Mr. Wilson, who is learned only in the wisdom of the Englishman?

It very often happens that things which are good of themselves are very bad in combination. It has been often demonstrated that individual Democrats are very good men, indeed it is almost too simple a fact of every-day observation to be even stated; and yet the last year and a half shows that a combination of them makes a very unsatisfactory party. It is so elsewhere in nature.

The ox is a most valuable animal, and so is the mule; but yoked up together they make a most incongruous team, neither speedy of foot, beautiful to the eye, nor restful to the mind; nevertheless either is a hard-working, reputable animal made for better things. We ought to frown upon all this use of hard language as to individuals. It is not seemly. Besides this, it obscures the real issue. Suppose the President does feel bad because of coal and iron, is that any reason why he should attack Senator Gorman, who feels well about it? If Mr. Wilson's scheme for a tariff has gone to water, is that any reason why he should be unkind to Democrats of older standing than himself? Only a few years ago he was clamoring for protection to coal, himself. Why not give the erring brother time to repent, as he also has repented? Besides being unseemly, savoring, as it were, of those "selfish feelings" which the President assured us were to be banished from the millennial world he inaugurated, March 4, 1893, these bickerings obscure the real issue, which issue is: Has the Democratic party those qualities which fit it to govern this country at this time? Let us not get ourselves lost in these little minor issues as to the relative blackness of pot and kettle. We might assume that both were black and very smutty if it were not for the dictates of politeness, which forbid people to be disagreeable to each other.

We have had this country under the government of that party

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for a year and a half, and what has been the result? I am not going to tell. There is such an embarrassment of riches that one hardly knows which way to turn. If you examine the question of finance from the point of view of the relation between the income and the expenditures of the country, and find as great expenditures as when the country was at the height of its prosperity, you see that even the one virtue the Democracy have striven to adorn by their example does not abide with them, and that as economists they have attained failure so great that it would be conspicuous had there not been worse failures everywhere else. If one wished to comment on the tariff performance there is absolutely no room left. After the President and Gorman and Wilson had lapsed into longed-for silence, there was not left in stock any expressions of reproach and contempt. The entire list had been exhausted. When your enemies have said about themselves all the severe things that could be said, attempts at characterization would be but gleaning in a field swept by conflagration and storm. Nevertheless, while the particulars of this recrimination have ceased to be endurable, the fact of its existence is of the utmost importance to the voting population of the country this autumn and for the next two years.

One important, nay, one indispensable prerequisite, for the good government of this country by a party in power must be that that party shall be agreed within itself. If it is agreed, then you know what it will do. If it be discordant and belligerent, what it will do nobody can tell. We cannot reasonably hope that the harvest may chance to be of wheat or some other grain. Rather is it likely to be tares which need to be burned with unquenchable fire; for the Devil of Discord seldom sows anything else.

Nor can we hope that such a party will continue to do nothing, or, to speak more exactly, to rest on the bad things they have already done.

To put the proposition in the alternative form: Either the Democratic party are agreed as to their future conduct, or they are not. If they are not, then we must, if we continue them in power, take another leap in the dark. We took one in 1892, and with our systems so badly shaken up as they are we are not likely to take another.

If, on the other hand, the Democracy are agreed as to the future, notwithstanding their inability to agree as to the past,

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what is that agreement? What is to be the course of these erratic comets in the future? Surely the evidence on this point is abundant. Nobody can doubt or be at a loss.

The President is a leader. Mr. Wilson is a leader. Mr. Mills is a leader, and so, also, are Mr. Cockran and Mr. Tom Johnson leaders. They have differed in the past. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Mills and Mr. President have been ahead of Mr. Gorman and Mr. Brice in the grand march of "tariff reform," but Mr. Cockran and Mr. Tom Johnson have been away ahead of Wilson and Mills, and have not had qualms of "delicacy" over the sugar question like the President. How are they to be in the future? Here, again, one is obliged to hesitate. The average Democratic editor says that at the moment when he is trying to galvanize business into life by his editorials it is most cruel and unpatriotic to say anything which tends to depress affairs and discourage the tendencies of the times. Well, what is there which has a tendency to discourage business and dishearten the country? There is only one answer; the thing which hangs like a pall to-day over business is the speechmaking and letter-writing of Democratic leaders. When Mr. Wilson, in the House, amid applause and cheers on the Democratic side, openly avows his determination to continue the tariff fight "so long as the yoke of monopoly is on the neck of any citizen of this country"; when Mr. Mills, in the Senate, declares that "we" will "sweep the streets of the enemy" and "take everything from him"; and when the President declares that this bad bill is only a vantage-ground for new attacks; and when Mr. Wilson hurries home to assure his constituency that he has lost none of his rancor, and that "the fight will still go on" until all the "strongholds of privilege" shall disappear;—when, I say, all these men unite, amid the applause of their followers, in such expressions, and continue to reiterate them, the Democratic editor labors in vain. Business cannot revive on such terms. Of course, business must move somewhat, the prostrate form must stagger to its feet, because suspended animation long continued is death, and we are not going to die. There is not stupidity enough in this nation to kill it.

But until we are assured that the hands of these destroyers are stricken down, until this country knows that these leaders are bound over to keep the peace, there can be no revival of busi-

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ness which will do more than sparsely fill the empty shelves of our retail stores. Prosperity does not perch upon uncertainty. Even if the Gorman-Brice bill be as beautiful as its authors think it is, even if it be deserving of that lofty praise bestowed by its enemies, the praise of superiority over the McKinley bill, it can never ripen fruit as long as these noisy boys are shaking and clubbing the tree. We can have no prosperity, even if the optimists are right, until the silver of these orators' silence and the gold of their speech have been brought to the parity of zero.

How shall this be done? What is the duty of the voter who wants peace and a chance to look about him and see what a new world he is living in, and whether therein be lodging and breakfast? What is the duty of the workingman who has been promised higher wages and more employment, and wants a chance to look about him and see if it is all there? What is the duty of the farmer who was promised the "markets of the world" and wheat at a dollar and a quarter, and who fears that his ears may have deceived him, and that the word of promise has not even been kept to the ear, let alone the hope? What shall these and all other people do?

This is hardly a party question. It is rather a business question. Is there any aspect of it where it seems to be a good thing to keep up agitation to "sweep" somebody "off the streets and take everything from him"? Is this a time to be hunting for "vantage-grounds" for another period of uncertainty and financial devastation? Do we want to be ranting about "strongholds of privilege" by the mouths of the very men who have just voted twenty-two millions to the sugar trust, and are hoarse with wrath because they could not do the same for the coal trust? Are we so in love, in a word, with the last year and a half that we want the next two years to be just like them? Do we want any more of that juggling with words which votes for sugar trusts and weeps over coal trusts and calls little woolen mills and all the little hives of Northern industry—except those that make collars and cuffs—"strongholds of privilege," "yokes of monopoly," "class distinctions," and all that folderol of folly which garnishes the mouths of men who think epithets are ideas?

There are three classes of people, at least, who will not be guilty of any blunders of that sort. The Republicans, who believe in protection, are not going to allow, if they can help it,

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what has already gone too far to go farther in the wrong direction. It is true that so long as Mr. Cleveland is President we can do nothing affirmatively. He wants to be worse than his party have acted. But we can help, by electing a Republican House, to give this nation sorely pressed a breathing-space, even if the breathing-space is not of our choosing. There is another class, without distinction of party, who will look at this situation from a business point of view alone. They will say: We want to know the working conditions of this bill; we can never know them if they are disturbed by factional fights between President and Senate, between divisions of the House, which threaten we know not what outcome of uncertainty and disaster. Let us have some peace; and the best way to shut these open and warring mouths, and stop these bickering pens, which are more valiant in vaunting than in veto, is to give Mr. Wilson a chance to lead a minority, and the President a Republican House, so that he can comment on a Democratic Senate to sympathizing people when next he is so inclined.

Last, and not least, is a class of citizens who have always voted the Democratic ticket, and who feel a sense of personal mortification and sorrow because the party which has had the devotion of their like has proved so unworthy of it. Among them will be some of those who think with sadness how twice in their day and generation they have been led far afield by their Southern connections, who by sheer force of numbers and unmindful of interests of their party friends, have forced them into false positions and unhappy situations. To either of these classes of voters the pathway of duty is as clear as a shining light, and, while it cannot lead to immediate prosperity, will give the people that hope which is the forerunner of wise action in the future, that confidence which will help rebuild our shattered fortunes.

At this moment it is hard to see how the bright days before the second reign of Grover Cleveland can be renewed until the same or wiser conditions are re-established. The great motive power of our progress in civilization and comfort is the wide distribution of the wealth of the country which is the result of keeping all our people employed. This it is which constitutes the purchasing power of this country, which has made the mill wheels turn and set the factory machinery in motion. No foreign commerce can make up for that; for whatever we cannot make

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because it is made abroad pays no wages to our workmen, to our managers and superintendents, and furnishes no profits with which our millowners and factory companies can extend their plant and employ the builder and his host of employees. When one mill in my district diminishes its payroll 40 per cent., and pays its people $117,000 less per year for 700 hands employed, or more than $168 for each—and that instance is multiplied by thousands—we are no longer taking the strides toward comfort, happiness, and civilization which we had been taking for the thirty years before the fatal mistake of 1892.

Nevertheless we shall survive all this, and the lesson for which we have paid such a terrible price will be a lesson never to be forgotten while this generation lingers on the shores of Time.

THOMAS B. REED.

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ASTRONOMY AND RELIGION.

BY SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, K. C. I. E., C. S. I.

GREAT results often spring from very small causes. In the ancient town of Middelburg, in Holland, on a clear autumn day in the year of grace 1606, an old optician named Jan Lippershey had a little job in hand, which was to repair the spectacles of a worthy Mynheer, member of the City Council. He had laid the thick circular glasses to be reset on his work-table, in front of a large old-fashioned mullioned window that looked over the roofs of a flat country in the midst of which rose a church-spire with a clock. The church was about half a league distant and the figures of the clock were small and in the crabbed Gothic character. By the old craftsman's side played his grandchild, who had taken up the lenses and was applying them in an idle mood this way and that to his eye. Suddenly the child uttered a Dutch exclamation of delight and cried, "O grandfather, I can see the hour!" And in effect he had by accident so adjusted the two glasses that a telescopic result was produced; and Jan Lippershey, repeating the experiment, read with facility the time from that casement, holding the glasses in the same manner.

From such a chance moment dated the invention of the telescope; and from that same moment also, a new era of scientific knowledge dawned, which must result, though it has not yet resulted, in a new era of religious thought.

Galileo heard of what the optician's little grandson had found out, and in the year 1609 he constructed the first telescope. It was not much more powerful than the opera-glass which the pilot or the racing-man now employs; but by its aid the illustrious astronomer was the first to view the spots on the sun; to see four moons revolving around Jupiter; to descry mountains and plains

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in the moon; to watch the phases of Venus; and to distinguish many stars which had been invisible before. Those earliest observations revolutionized all astral science. Ptolemy and the ancients silently and suddenly abdicated in favor of Copernicus, Galileo himself, and Tycho Brahe. There was come to an end forever that old conceited ignorance which pictured our planet as the centre of the universe, with the moon and stars for night-lights, and the sun the brilliant but humble attendant of the earth. Little as this immense advance in knowledge has been yet realized by the common imagination, the Church of Rome had an instinct of the revolution; but neither her then mighty power, nor any other influence, could prevent a sudden and swift transformation in human ideas. The least informed mind cannot well take itself back now to the time when a Hebrew writer really believed and recorded that at the command of Joshua the moon stood still in the valley of Ajalon, while another inspired scribe could chronicle it as a serious fact that the sun had gone back on its course to prolong the life of King Hezekiah. Galileo, upon whom the prodigious new veracities instantly and imperatively flashed, was compelled by the priests verbally to recant his splendid declarations. But rising from his knees he muttered the famous reservation "*E pur se muove*"; and for all ages to come there was thus created out of that accidental deed of the little Dutch boy at play, a new heaven and a new earth for mankind.

Galileo in his "Sidereal Messenger" made a map of eighty new stars which he had discovered in the constellations of Orion's Belt and the "Sword"; and since then astronomer after astronomer, as is well known, has added various groups and galaxies to the two or three thousand conspicuous stars of the first six magnitudes which can be always seen with the naked eye. It is curious and not complimentary to the good sense of mankind that those stars should have been looked upon as merely intended to spangle the sky and give light at night. As lamps they were always a failure. Sixty times the total starlight on the clearest night would not equal the illumination given by the moon; and thirty-three million times their radiance would be required to equal sunlight. Yet the stars which are seen even by a powerful telescope are now known to be only an insignificant proportion of those actually existing inside "visible space." Telescopic pho-

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tography, as practised to-day in all the observatories, reveals, in almost every apparently blank region of the celestial sphere, countless new and distant worlds, lying far beyond all methods of mortal computation and measurement. The only foot-rule with which we can at all estimate the scale of distances in the "visible universe" is light. This travels along the ether at the rate of 186,000 miles in a second, so that the ray which we receive from the sun left his surface eight minutes before it has reached our eyes. By ingenious processes based on complex arithmetic, astronomers have determined the distance of about eighty stars, and the nearest of all of them to our system is *Alpha Centauri*. The radiance of this star takes, however, about four years to reach human vision, while that which we perceive from *Alpha Tauri* or *Aldebaran* was projected from its glittering source twenty-seven years ago; and most of those seen deeper in the night sky are so far off that their present light left them three or four hundred years back. Many are to-day visible whose beams have travelled to our gaze only after a lapse of thousands of years, and there must be radiant streams now on their way from heavenly bodies in the empyrean which will only reach the eyes of our very far off posterity.

To what comparative insignificance do these well-known and well-assured facts reduce the little corner of space in which our own trivial family of planets has its being and its motion! It seems much to say that the earth is distant from the sun ninety-three millions of miles, so that to travel thither at the average rate of a tourist by steam and rail would take an interval of 600 years. And the outside planet of our family, *Neptune*, is two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five millions of miles from the sun, so that we may roughly call the diameter of our flying system in space five thousand six hundred and fifty millions of miles. But vast as this sounds, our solar system sinks into a speck when one reflects that if we should represent the interval between the sun and the earth by one inch, then to put *Aldebaran* into his proper place and proportion our chart would have to be nine leagues wide. At this moment the great work is everywhere advancing of making a photographic picture of the entire visible heavens; all stars down to the fourteenth magnitude are being reproduced. Twenty-two thousand separate plates will complete the planisphere, and it is estimated already that as many as

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twenty million distinct stars will appear upon the unparalleled and astonishing map.

It is vain to endeavor to reduce into intelligible or adequate language the vastness of material creation revealed in such a chart; a vastness augmented by the measureless variety of the bodies and systems included in the immense conspectus. Gazing near at hand there are indeed all sorts of absorbing wonders on and around the sun himself; a world of marvels exists in those "rice-grains" upon his surface which look like specks and are all larger than Great Britain, in the "willow leaves," the "granules," the "faculæ," "the spots"; in those scarlet flags of flame called "prominences"; and in the "corona"—which at the time of a solar eclipse are seen stretching for millions of miles outside the orb. Those early theologians who taught that the sun was made to warm and illuminate this our poor little planetary island did not know that only one part in two thousand two hundred millions of his heat and light are received by the earth. The rest, in the boundless prodigality of nature, goes away into space to do, no doubt, much subtle work. And then, besides the sun, there are tantalizing mysteries in

> "That orbed maiden
> With white fire laden
> Whom mortals call the moon."

One side of her we have never beheld, but that which is always turned towards her elder sister is painted in silvers and grays with a landscape of acclivities and levels which nobody really understands. Astronomers say too rashly that there can be no life on the moon because there is no atmosphere there and no moisture. Dead silence must reign over Moonland, they aver, since there is no air to vibrate; barrenness must prevail, since there falls no rain; and the heat of the sun must alternately scorch it, and then be withdrawn, producing a cold greater than any which Professor Dewar can create. Then there are the planets of which we know just a little, as people often do of their own particular families: Mercury and Venus inside our own orbit; Mars outside it; and, beyond him, stately Jupiter, Saturn with his Ring, Uranus, and Neptune. Comparatively near as these are, and presenting well-marked features to the glass, they are yet so far divided and so minute compared to the space they swim in that if the earth were

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represented by a football at Hyde Park Corner, Neptune would be such a four-foot globe as an acrobat walks upon, placed at Oxford. Between Mars and Jupiter swarm in the ether those silver bees of the system called asteroids: perhaps the fragments of an exploded planet, the baby children of our system, already 370 in number and increasing with yearly observations. The largest of them, *Vesta*, is but 300 miles in diameter. Beyond Jupiter again, circle those large mysterious planets about which astronomers again foolishly say that they must be lifeless, failing to perceive that life equates itself to its conditions, and that just as lungs are the correlation and the consequence of an atmosphere of oxygen and nitrogen, and gills the adaptation to water as a medium of existence, so there may be creatures on the sun which thrive upon incandescent hydrogen; Moon-people who flourish without air or water; Jovians and Saturnians, well contented with an abode in a state of vapor; and Uranians, with a scheme of body and being unimagined, but suitable to their environments and real as a railway director. Then beyond these, our close neighbors, are the comets, the stars, the nebulæ, the "Milky Way,"—that "river of light and life" which, searched by the glass, presents itself as a fathomless channel of sweeping stars. Inconceivably distant from him, man has yet means today which bring these within the range of his knowledge. The spectroscope, aided by photography, tells us the substance and the chemistry of these remote worlds. Doctor Huggins has found hydrogen in the "nebulæ," and Secchi in certain stars also, while the rate at which they approach or recede can be accurately measured. Thus *Aldebaran* is going away from us at thirty miles a second, and *Gamma Leonis* approaching us at a slightly lower speed. The great telescope of the Lick Observatory, which I myself had the privilege one night of using, has settled the fact that the Nebula of Orion is flying from us at ten miles a second. We know, in fact, enough of this marvellous "visible universe" to be proud and glad of our increasing knowledge, but never to presume upon it as final or sufficient.

Indeed, our best acquaintance with its wonders must always be held provisional. The organ wherewith we are aware of it is an imperfect one, insensible to the colors beyond the red and the violet which certain insects appear to perceive. Light itself is nothing but a vibration of what we call, without understanding

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it, the ether; and sight is a sense easily deceived and of very feeble range. It is probable that only a slight exaltation of the power of the optic nerve would present the picture of the starry sky to us in a very different aspect. To our vision the waste of space appears astounding, much as the Pacific Ocean seems far too large for its archipelagoes. The boundless vault looks as though wasted in containing at such enormous intervals the tiny specks that are its worlds and suns. Would it wear anything like so open an aspect if we had better or different eyes? To see the stars at all it is necessary to wait for the darkness of night: to be aware of those crimson fountains of glory streaming into space from the sun, we have to borrow the help of the moon's interposed disc. Since all heavenly bodies exercise an influence, gravitatory and otherwise, upon all other bodies, it is conceivable that a kind of vision may hereafter exist to which their mutual contact and interaction would be perceptible. We see nothing now which is not of the nature to reflect upon our retinas or to project upon them those light-waves of which alone our light-sense can take any cognizance. The fish which dimly perceives a star through the water composed of oxygen and hydrogen is not in a much worse position for reliable astronomical observations than man, with his limited visual spectrum, at the bottom of his ocean of oxygen, nitrogen, and the new gas.

Astronomy has taken, however, an immense start forward in estimating the cosmos since that discovery by the little Dutch boy, which put her sisters, Philosophy and Religion, quite out of step. The spell of habit binds, however, even astronomers themselves. Not only do they use contentedly the phrases consecrated by ancient ignorance such as "sun-rise" and "sun-set," spoken foolishly of an orb which, as far as we are concerned, neither rises nor sets; but most of them cannot shake themselves free from absolutely primitive ideas about life. You shall read them gravely declaring the uninhabitability of the sun, the moon, and the planets, as before remarked, because of physical differences forsooth between those bodies and our earth. They go on contentedly with the old stellar chartography which Ptolemy introduced when he divided the stars into forty-eight constellations, giving to each of them the name of a character in Classic Mythology. Modern astronomers, unwilling or unable to improve upon this, have added about twenty more pagan names

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to those of Ptolemy; and even when fantastic figures are not delineated round the groups of stars, the ancient appellations are still retained. No doubt there is a convenience in this, as it helps the "star-gazer" to map out his sky; and a good observer will know the "Lyre," the "Swan," the "Plough," and "Cassiopeia" as well as any teacher of geography the outlines of various states and countries. But no attempt has been made to break away into a new and more adequate astrography, based as it might be on the marvellous symmetries and geometrical collocations of the sky. This subject of astral perspective has indeed engaged singularly little scientific attention. The study which should excite and delight most of all the scientific imagination is content to view its universe as an indefinitely or infinitely expanding hollow sphere, the boundaries of which perpetually recede before the increasing power of the lens or the resolute exercise of inductive reason. But if our experimentalists suspended in a vast glass globe endless numbers of electric lamps of different sizes, and surveyed the illumination from a point inside or outside, how long would it be before chance furnished us with such a shapely arrangement as those of the three jewels in the Belt of Orion; the rhomboid in Charles's Wain; or the measured localization of the stars in the Southern Cross? The best thing that could happen for mankind would be if a great astronomer had been born a poet or a great poet should become an astronomer; for we sadly need newer and nobler ideas in the chief of sciences.

But if, in view of the good and useful work which astronomers are undoubtedly doing in collecting facts and adding to the range of actual knowledge, we excuse them for not rising to the rich sublimity of the cosmic side of their business, it is not so easy to forgive modern philosophy and modern theology. Physical and metaphysical writers are equally to blame for the very slight influence which they have permitted latter-day astronomy to exercise upon their disquisitions. Yet the meaning of the word "metaphysics" would almost appear to suggest that every great enlargement of view in natural science ought to be followed by an expansion of thought in speculative philosophy. "Metaphysics" is a fine sonorous word, like "Mesopotamia," but it merely means that when Aristotle had finished writing about the objects in Creation (*Τὰ φυσικά*) he commenced quite naturally to discourse about "*μετὰ τὰ φυσικά*," or "the things that come

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next after objects of creation." Surely that is an obvious sequence, and if our metaphysicians, especially those of the pessimistic school, would saturate themselves with the new truths of astronomy, extending their mental focus to even the present range of the visible universe, we should not read dreary and dismal jeremiads about the origin and end of life, nor in the social field witness such a folly as anarchism raising its selfish and ridiculous banner under the stately march of the stars. Of all the fools' paradises ever built by man, the idlest and the meanest is that one of mere material comfort and easy subsistence without work, which seems to satisfy certain base democratic ideals. If life be what some among our demagogues teach to their stupid and passionate listeners, a threescore and ten years span, spent best if spent in meat and drink and voting, then Carlyle was justified, when gazing on the stars he cried, "Ah, sir! 'tis a sorry sight!" As I myself have written in "Lotus and Jewel":

> "Either the Universe is Chaos, Chance,
> Or else the Universe is Order, law;
> If that, die and let go the drunken dance;
> If this, live and rejoice in love and awe."

In vain has the star-bespangled Night, giver of sleep and rest, comforter of men, revealed under her dark mantle the splendid secret of worlds upon worlds and boundless being, if not even this has sufficed to silence upon the lips of bitter and disbelieving man doubt as to the ultimate rightfulness of nature, whose law of order, evolution, and harmonious issues is written in such large silver letters upon the skies. Nothing, in truth, so much exalts our sense-perception, and at the same time admonishes and humiliates it, as the manifestations of astronomy.

With the tube of the Lick telescope directed into the thickest milky effulgence of the Galaxy, the eye seems to plunge into the actual glory of infinitude and literally to see the illimitable. If there be immutable reasons why we should temporarily live in what we call the "present," amid allusions of time and space—which must be false in the sense of the Hindoo Maya, but need not be fallacious—how could there be devised a nobler consolation, a loftier promise, than in such glimpses which convince the mind of the infinity and immortality that it cannot in this life understand? On such a head there are two notable passages in the New Testament. One is where the great Teacher of Nazareth,

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perhaps with his divine eyes fixed at the time upon the shining firmament, said pityingly, "In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you." And the other passage is a saying from the same tender and holy lips—"The Kingdom of Heaven is nigh unto you, yea, even at your very gates." Probably these last words, at once so simple and so mysterious, condense a prodigious physical fact. It may well be that the next great secret of existence is hidden from us by a veil so thin that its very thinness makes it impenetrable. A touch, a turn, a change, as slight as when the light pebble lying on the thin ice feels it melt and falls to the bottom, may be all that is necessary to lift the curtain of another and utterly transformed universe which is yet not really another; but this same one that we see imperfectly with present eyes, and think timidly with present thoughts. As Browning sings of his beautiful dream which came so near to realization:

> "Only to break a door of glass,
> Only a bridge of cloud to pass,
> Only one wicked Mage to stab,
> And look you, we had kissed Queen Mab."

So it may be with many, possibly with most, at that natural promotion and permutation called death. Mathematicians talk as of something more solid than a dream in regard of what they call a Higher Space, that of Four Dimensions; and advanced photographers are hoping it may some day be feasible to take pictures with the ultra-red rays, which pass through opaque matter, and to which a brick wall is perhaps transparent. Returning, however, to what is visible and known, the infinite vitality of the universe must be borne in mind, as well as its boundless extent and variety. The late Mr. Richard A. Proctor has well written, in his *Other Worlds than Ours*, these eloquent words:

> "Instead of millions of inert masses, we see the whole heavens instinct with energy—astir with busy life. The great masses of luminous vapor, though occupying countless millions of cubic miles of space, are moved by unknown forces like clouds before the summer breeze; star-mist is condensing into clusters; star-clusters are forming into suns; streams and clusters of minor orbs are swayed by unknown attractive energies, and primary suns singly or in systems are pursuing their stately path through space, rejoicing as giants to run their course, extending on all sides the mighty arm of their attraction, gathering from ever new regions of space supplies of motive

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energy, to be transformed into the various forms of force—light and heat and electricity—and distributed in lavish abundance to the worlds which circle round them."

Perhaps the most ludicrous survival of primitive human ignorance about the heavens is the doubt which orthodox astronomers still maintain upon the question whether life exists amid all these fair and wonderful mansions of life. And here, indeed, is where there seems to come in the truest and most urgent necessity that religion should extend the boundaries of her doctrines, in order to render them a little more adequate to the range of scientific acquisitions. Take, for instance, what is called the "scheme of salvation" as it is preached by ordinary interpreters. How deplorably it continues to be narrowed down into the limits of the old-fashioned notions of the "world"! Let me hasten to concede that no discovery, no generalization, no new revelation of the vastness, variety, and vital fullness of the cosmos could ever rob of its divine value the inner meanings of what is eternally true. The idea of redemption by love, for example, which has a thousand illustrations even in the little sphere of human experience, would probably only derive greater and greater magnificence of demonstration if we could see and know its operation in systems developed beyond our own; and amid that immense, and to-day inconceivable, march of evolution, of which we get only shadows here. But is it not evident that we must think more largely than to imagine ourselves, or to let those whom we teach imagine, that the Son of God was once absent from such an universe as we now perceive—from the splendid spaciousness of His dominions of light and life—wholly abstracted in the care and charge of "this little 0, the earth?" The love of God, manifested in Him, was doubtless present with us, as with all the cosmos; but to think becomingly and proportionately to facts, we must recognize that it was also and simultaneously present in every abode of planetary and stellar—perhaps of galactic and nebular—society. We meditate too meanly upon heavenly love, and divine government, and the life of man, and the lives which are to be, when our minds still thus wear the garments of old theologies, while our hands hold the telescope and the spectroscope. We have enlarged enormously our conceptions of the universe, but apparently forgotten to magnify our beliefs. A schoolgirl of to-day knows that the specks of silver in the ocean of the night are sun-

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worlds; but her rector or teacher reads her still the legends of Joshua and Hezekiah, and permits her to think that for thirty years long, some 1,894 years ago, a million million orbs and systems —full of living beings—were without the second Person of the Trinity, absent on urgent duty upon an atom of a world, invisible to the very nearest of them.

It is charming to observe with what simplicity the delicate and gentle genius of Mr. Ruskin, in his *Frondes Agrestes*, has grappled with this incompatibility between old tenets and modern discoveries. He begins by deploring how little men care to know or think about the sky "in which Nature has done more for the sake of pleasing man—more for the sole and evident purpose of talking with him and teaching him—than in any other of her works." "And yet," writes Mr. Ruskin (Section 3, p. 35):

"We never attend to it, we never make it a subject of thought, except as it has to do with our animal sensations; we look upon all by which it speaks to us more clearly than to brutes, upon all which bears witness to the intentions of the Supreme, that we are to receive more from the covering vault than the light and the dew which we share with the weed and the worm, only as a succession of meaningless and monotonous accident, too common and too vain to be worthy of a moment of watchfulness or a glance of admiration."

Again, speaking of the infinitude of things to know, and of the much that never can be known, revealed in the starry firmament, he says:

"None but proud or weak men would mourn over this, for we may always know more, if we choose, by working on; but the pleasure is, I think, to humble people, in knowing that the journey is endless, the treasure inexhaustible—watching the cloud still march before them with its summitless pillar, and being sure that, to the end of time, and to the length of eternity, the mysteries of its infinity will still open farther and farther, their dimness being the sign and necessary adjunct of their inexhaustibleness."

But, brought face to face with the largeness of the cosmos and the littleness—at least as relates to verbal definition—of the pre-Galileo religions, Mr. Ruskin takes refuge in the provisional and, so to speak, personal character of the orthodox doctrines and the "scheme." "We must not," he argues,

"define and explain ourselves into dim and distant suspicion of an inactive God inhabiting inconceivable places, and fading into the multitudinous formalisms of the laws of Nature. All errors of this kind arise from the originally mistaken idea that man can, 'by searching, find out God—find out the Almighty to perfection'—whereas it is clearly necessary, from the beginning

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to the end of time, that God's way of revealing himself to his creatures should be a *simple* way, which *all* those creatures may understand. Whether taught or untaught, whether of mean capacity or enlarged, it is necessary that communion with their Creator should be possible to all; and the admission to such communion must be rested, not on their having a knowledge of astronomy, but on their having a human soul. In order to render this communion possible, the Deity has stooped from his throne, and has not only in person of the Son, taken upon him the veil of our human *flesh*, but, in the person of the Father, taken upon him the veil of our human *thoughts*, and permitted us, by his own spoken authority, to conceive him simply and clearly as a loving father and friend; a being to be walked with and reasoned with, to be moved by our entreaties, angered by our rebellion, alienated by our coldness, pleased by our love, and glorified by our labor; and, finally, to be beheld in immediate and active presence in all the powers and changes of creation. This conception of God, which is the child's, is evidently the only one which can be universal, and, therefore, the only one which *for us* can be true."

This is all true, beautiful, and to the purpose of the eminent author's thought; but it is an explanation of the survival of old religious ideas, rather than a justification of them. The astronomer and the house-cat enjoy, of course, the sunshine equally, but the former understands, as the latter does not, some at least of the wonders of that golden warmth. My representation is that the divine significations of those of the old doctrines which have eternal truth in them ought by their expounders to be henceforward immeasurably expanded and advanced, in the light of astronomical announcements. My object in these purely suggestive pages (for to exhaust the point would demand such another paper) is to indicate how new, superb, and noble are the meanings which the ancient formulas might receive from current facts, if their professional interpreters could and would rise to the heights whither "star-eyed science" to-day beckons them. "Life," "Love," "Redemption," "Creation," "Evil," "Good," and that most vast and vague name of "God" are words of might and majesty, which need to-day bolder and more hopeful retranslations into that glorious, albeit ever mystical, language of which the starry heavens display at least the silver cypher.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

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THE PERIL OF THE TREASURY.

BY THE HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, EX-SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

It is my purpose in this paper to present an outline of a financial plan by which a gold revenue shall be provided adequate to the probable claims upon the national Treasury, and by which the product of American silver, in excess of the demand by the arts and industries of the country, may be used for currency, and all without regard to the policy of other nations. Not but that a policy of coöperation is desirable as compared with any national policy, but the prospect of its attainment is so slight, and the exigency pressing upon us is so severe, and the danger in one direction is so imminent, that further delay is fraught with perils of the gravest nature.

The demand gold liabilities now resting upon the Treasury exceed two hundred million dollars, and the gold indebtedness due at times future exceeds six hundred and thirty million; in all eight hundred and thirty million dollars; and on the other side the government has not one dollar of gold revenue which it can command.

At the present moment the well-established credit of the government is the only security against its bankruptcy.

A demand for gold which should carry it to a premium, or a general belief in this country and in Europe that gold would advance to a premium in the near future, would at once drain the Treasury of its gold deposits and of the small balance of free gold. In such a condition of affairs, which, if not probable immediately, is inevitable at some day not very remote if the present policy shall be continued, it will not be easy to borrow gold, nor at all, except at high prices and with diminishing credit. What will be thought, and what ought to be thought, of a

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country that, in time of peace, has entered upon a policy of issuing gold-bearing bonds and yet is destitute of any revenue, or of any provision for a revenue, by which any part of the obligations so created, either principal or interest, can be met?

In the last six months we have issued fifty million of such bonds, and in the next twelve months the Treasury may be forced to issue fifty million more. Beyond that period it is useless to speculate. In time of peace we shall have increased our gold debt fifty or one hundred million dollars, and that without any attempt to provide the means of payment. Revenue alone does not meet the necessity of the situation. Gold revenue must be obtained, as otherwise the credit of the country becomes the only security for the maintenance of the credit of the country. Without a gold revenue our only means of meeting a demand for gold would be in our ability to buy gold at a premium, or to borrow it upon terms satisfactory to the lender.

The policy of borrowing gold to pay gold debts is not essentially different from the policy of the advocates of what was known as *fiat* money, who proposed to redeem one issue of paper currency by a new issue of the same sort, and so on *ad infinitum*. More reprehensible even is the practice, not yet dignified as a public policy, of issuing gold bonds and applying the proceeds to the payment of legal-tender debts, or to current expenses, which, in ordinary times, are met by current revenues. The loss of revenue at the present time, if no inquiry be made as to the causes of the loss, may be pleaded in defence of what is being done, and upon the ground that the practice is not a public policy, but an expedient resorted to under duress. Without a gold revenue that duress will continue. Assume that in these current months the revenues exceeded the expenses of the government, by what process, except by buying or borrowing, could the Treasury meet a demand for gold? It should ever be borne in mind that any extraordinary demand for gold is a demand upon the Treasury of the United States. The banks of the great cities, as the city of New York, for example, are behind the private bankers, and must furnish gold for export whenever it is demanded. The banks hold much the larger part of the $346,000,000 United States notes which are convertible at will into gold coin. In any emergency the banks must rely upon the Treasury. Thus has the

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Treasury become the banker of the country for all international transactions. In recent years the country has been so much accustomed to find the balance of trade in our favor that a continuing adverse balance seems impossible. From 1846 to 1861 the aggregate adverse balance was nine hundred million dollars. Should a like policy lead to like results, there would be a constant demand for gold, and that demand would rest ultimately upon the Treasury of the United States. Nor is it an adequate defence of the present policy to say that the contingency suggested is quite improbable. That it is possible renders a resort to provisional measures a duty. A demand for gold is a less improbable contingency than a war, and yet we are engaged constantly in providing means of offence and defence which can only be useful in case of war. Nor should we omit to notice the fact that the demand for gold has been augmented by the depreciation of the credit of railroads and other corporations due to the apprehension that their securities might be liquidated in silver ultimately. As a consequence their bonds and stocks have been sent to the United States and the proceeds have been converted into gold and exported. These statements but indicate the peril to which the Treasury of the United States is exposed.

Under the law of 1878 and the other statutes relating to the subject, customs duties are payable in gold coin, standard silver dollars, gold certificates, silver certificates, United States notes, and Treasury notes of 1890.

The first step, and an essential step, is the repeal of the statute which authorizes the use of standard silver dollars in payment of duties on imports. The public faith is in no way involved in the statute by which authority was given to the Secretary of the Treasury to receive standard silver dollars in payment of duties. Their use in that particular is a question of public policy only. The objection to the change will come from those who maintain that a silver dollar is worth as much as a gold dollar, or that it would have equal value had not the natural relations of the coins been changed by unwise legislation by the United States. It is sufficient to say in reply that the change, to whatever cause due, has been accepted by the whole world. It would be a test of the question for the United States to offer an interest-bearing bond payable in standard silver dollars in the year 1905, for example. If sold for gold coin, it could only be sold at an enormous, a

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frightful, discount. This article, and the suggestions of this article all proceed upon the acceptance of the facts that in the last twenty years silver has depreciated in value when tested by gold, which is the only test that the world recognizes, and that it is not within the scope of legislative power to bring the coins to an equality of value. It follows that silver and the representatives of silver, when used as currency, must be used for national purposes only; and that for international purposes it can only be used as bullion, and at its commercial value in gold. Nor is it probable that any international convention could secure for silver coin permanent use as an international currency, whatever its ratio to gold. The notion that it is in the power of this government, or of any government, to maintain silver and gold, whether in coin or in bullion, at a parity, permanently, is one of the most dangerous financial delusions that have ever made a lodgment in the public mind. Hence this article proceeds upon the idea that silver may be used for domestic purposes, and that gold must be used for all international exchanges. These are the most favorable conditions for the continued use of silver as a currency. Further, this article proceeds upon the idea that such continuous use of silver is essential to the prosperity of this country, and, for like reasons, its use by other countries will contribute essentially to their prosperity.

England, as a creditor nation, is alone interested in maintaining a gold standard, coupled with the policy of excluding silver from use as a currency. Hence England is the only interested opponent to a system of international bimetallism.

The second step in the series of changes in policy and law to which attention is invited is this, namely: That all silver certificates received into the Treasury, whether received at the custom-houses or as ordinary revenues, shall be cancelled and destroyed; and in their places new certificates shall be issued for the same sums and of the same import, except that the legend shall not declare that they are receivable for customs duties. It is assumed that in a comparatively short period of time the amount of such certificates as are now made receivable for customs duties would be so far reduced that importers would be unable to command them, except in small sums. To this policy two objections may be offered. First, that the government makes a distinction between gold and silver to the prejudice of silver. A more just

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statement would be this: The government *recognizes* a distinction which exists and which is beyond the control of the government, and is enforced by the public necessities. The government must have gold, and there are but three ways of obtaining it. The government may buy gold, it may borrow gold, or it may obtain it through the revenue system.

The second possible objection may be expressed in the claim that the government has no right to cancel any part of the agreement under which the silver certificates have been issued. This point would be valid as against a proposition to cancel that stipulation upon certificates outstanding. When certificates have been redeemed, either through the revenue system or by the payment of silver dollars, as stipulated, the government may cancel and destroy them, or it may authorize a reissue in whatever form may be expedient. The value of this objection in a legal aspect may be realized in the truth of the statement that there could not be a party capable of instituting proceedings to restrain the issue, or to compel a customs officer to receive the new issue in payment of customs duties.

Next, the United States notes of 1890, when redeemed, and as they are redeemed, should be cancelled and destroyed and without provision for their reissue in any form. When those notes shall have been redeemed, whether in gold or by payment through the collectors of revenue, every obligation which the government has assumed will have been performed.

To the possible objection that this plan will work a decrease in the volume of currency there are two answers. First, the redemption will be gradual and it may extend over several years; and, second, the deficit will be met, and more than met, by the increased use of silver, which is the complement of the changes thus far indicated.

These propositions are not revolutionary, and it is not easy to forecast any evil that can come to the country or to any interest in the country. One admission, already indicated, may be made without reservation. These propositions run counter to the notion that it is possible to maintain gold and silver at a parity, except as bullion—so much silver in weight for so much gold in weight. What would be accomplished is this: The Treasury of the United States, at a time not remote, would be in

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the receipt of a gold revenue equal to any probable demand that would or could be made upon it.

Any wise system of revenue will provide for an excess of receipts over expenditures in a sum ranging from twenty-five to fifty million dollars annually. This excess can be, should be, and will be represented in gold, and thus the financial conditions of the country, not the Treasury merely, but the financial affairs of the whole country, would be placed on a firm basis.

At the present moment the Treasury Department is only able to perform its functions through the co-operation of the banks of New York due to a community of interests. Without their aid it would have been difficult for the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate the recent loan, and without their aid another loan of like character can only be negotiated at a high rate of interest. The absolute independence of the Treasury is the one essential condition for the maintenance of the public credit. Whatever may be the objections to the propositions now submitted, it may with confidence be claimed that upon their acceptance, and the inauguration of a revenue system by which the receipts shall exceed the expenditures in a sum not less than twenty-five million dollars annually, the gold revenue will be equal to all the demands for gold that can be made upon the Treasury.

The first condition for the continued use, and for the annually increasing use, of silver as a currency would seem to be the absolute exclusion of foreign silver, whether in coin or in bullion. To open our mints to the free coinage of the silver of the world would stimulate the product in all the silver-producing regions, and could only end in so reducing its bullion value as to destroy absolutely its use as currency. Nor is it probable that our mining interests could withstand the competition of the world in presence of the stimulus that would be given by a system of free coinage in the United States.

The silver-mining interest, considered as one interest, and without reference to individual fortunes, will be promoted by a policy which checks production rather than by a policy which stimulates production. Silver mining and wheat growing are in analogous conditions—the product of each being far in excess of the public wants, and that product in each case can be increased materially. If each interest be considered as a totality its con-

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dition will be promoted by a reduction in quantity of product and a proportional increase in price until the return shall yield full compensation for the labor performed and a profit over.

If wheat at sixty cents per bushel at Chicago shows a loss to the producer, the wheat-growing interest will be promoted by a decrease in the product, even though the decrease be secured by enforced processes. This proposition is alike true in the case of silver, and its truthfulness has been illustrated in a measure by the effects of the repeal of the statute authorizing the purchase of silver bullion. The loss of a market was followed by a large decrease in the product, and thus the downward tendency in the price of bullion was arrested. It is, then, the theory of this article that the further use of silver as currency must be dependent upon a policy of exclusion of foreign silver coin and bullion from the United States. Thus limited, it seems to be practicable to permit the coinage of silver, but upon terms.

To allow depositors a number of coined dollars that should equal in weight the bullion deposited would stimulate immensely the product of silver, ending, probably, in its discredit as a currency. Again, there is always the contingency before us that at some time future the government may be required to withdraw silver from circulation, and at a large cost. In view of these possibilities, the government ought to be a sharer, and a sharer of the larger interest, in what has come to be known as the seigniorage—that is, the difference between the gold coin value of a body of silver bullion and the number of coined dollars that that body of bullion will yield. That some consideration should be allowed to the depositor is quite apparent, inasmuch as there would be no inducement for the deposit if the depositor could receive only a number of silver dollars equal to the gold value of the deposit. If the depositor should be allowed one-fifth of the seigniorage there would be sufficient inducement for the deposit, while the stimulus to production might not be dangerously great.

If it shall be said, in objection to these propositions, that they are artificial, it may be said in answer that since 1878 all our legislation for the use of silver has been artificial, in the sense that the country has had no like experience and for the reason that until about the year 1870 there had been no question as to the free use of silver as a currency. We are now called to deal with a condition not heretofore existing in modern times.

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In that sense this project and every project touching the same subject-matter must wear an appearance of artificiality.

For these propositions so much as this is claimed, namely: that they constitute a system, which to the country, however individual interests might be affected by its adoption, is fraught with one peril only, and that a peril which must attend every scheme for the use of silver—its redundancy and consequent non-use as a currency. These propositions may be more intelligibly presented in the form following:

(1) That from and after the first day of next, the duties upon imports shall be payable and collected in gold coin, gold certificates, silver certificates, United States notes, and Treasury notes, known as Treasury notes of the year 1890.

(2) That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the receipt into the Treasury of any silver certificates or Treasury notes known as Treasury notes of the year 1890, to cause the same to be cancelled and destroyed, and also to issue, in place of all silver certificates so cancelled and destroyed, other silver certificates for like sums and of the same character and purport in all respects, save that the legend thereon shall not declare that they are receivable for customs duties.

(3) That from and after the first day of next, the Secretary of the Treasury be and he is hereby authorized and required to receive on deposit silver bullion the product of American mines, and cause the same to be coined, as is provided in an act entitled:

"An act to authorize the coinage of the Standard Silver dollar, and to restore its Legal Tender character, approved February 28, 1878."

(4.) That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, between the first and tenth days of each month, to ascertain the average daily value of silver bullion in the markets of New York and London for the month next preceding, and make public announcement of the same.

(5) That the Secretary of the Treasury shall, during the month when such estimate of the value of silver bullion for the month preceding, as is hereinbefore provided, shall have been announced, ascertain the silver coinage value of each deposit of silver bullion, the product of American mines, that may be made during the current month, and shall deliver to each depositor a number of standard silver dollars so coined equal nominally to the value in gold of the bullion so deposited by him, and a number of silver dollars in excess thereof equal to one-fifth of the number of dollars which the said deposit may represent in coined silver dollars over and above the value of the same as represented in gold coin; provided, however, that the Secretary of the Treasury may issue silver certificates to such depositors in lieu of coined silver dollars whenever so requested by any depositor.

(6) That the introduction of foreign silver coin and foreign silver bullion is hereby prohibited, and any such coin or bullion brought into the United States or the territories thereof shall be forfeited by proceedings, as far as may be in conformity to the proceedings for the forfeiture of goods brought into the country in violation of the customs revenue laws.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

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THE TRANSATLANTIC MAILS.

BY J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P.

THE most ardent Protectionist never yet dreamt of proposing a duty, *eo nomine*, on letters coming from, or sent to, a foreign country. A letter, however ill-spelt and blotted, from a mother in Galway, is certainly a luxury when delivered in New York; but as a man can only have one mother, no American interest is injured by its arrival. And how many millions of American citizens have relatives in Europe, not only in the Emerald Isle, but in crowded English towns, on bleak Scottish braes, by the "castled crags" of the Rhine, along the stormy fiords of Norway, on snow-mantled Russian steppes, high up the sides of Swiss and Hungarian mountains—all of whom welcome a letter from America as Noah welcomed the dove that brought an olive leaf to the Ark. "Thought is free." Nevertheless, correspondence with foreign countries is subject to direct and needless taxation by the United States Government, in common with all the governments which have adhered to the Postal Union.

As is well known, the postage on a letter weighing one ounce, sent 3,500 miles from New York to Vancouver, a foreign town, is two cents; while the charge for sending a letter of half that weight 3,540 miles to another foreign town, Liverpool, is five cents. What is the reason for this difference? It cannot be the cost of conveyance, for railway freightage is higher than sea freightage. It cannot be that the letters sent to Europe prejudice American interests in any way. It cannot be the favorite (though, as will presently be seen, unsound) argument of a British postmaster-general, that the five cents have to cover, not only the cost of putting one outgoing letter on board ship, but of delivering free a return letter, the postage on which has been received by a foreign government. For the postage to Canada

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(and I believe to Mexico) is but two cents, though letters coming from the Dominion (or Mexico) are equally delivered without charge. The real reason is that the majority of the Postal Union consists of poor, greedy states, which are not advanced enough to recognize the wisdom of facilitating international correspondence, and have therefore fixed the common Union tariff as high as possible. It is intolerable that the voice of a mighty continent should count for no more than that of Servia or Siam. Yet at the last Postal Union conference the American proposal to establish a common international stamp was rejected chiefly by the votes of insignificant reactionary states, with small interests at stake.

Is there then no remedy? Certainly there is. The Union convention expressly allows any two members of the Union to form a "restricted union" of their own, within which the postage may be lower than the general five-cent rate. The United States have long established such "restricted unions" with Canada and Mexico, to the great benefit of American trade and of international relations. The time has arrived for the institution of a similar "restricted union" with the United Kingdom and perhaps with Germany. To my knowledge such a policy is strongly supported by some of the most eminent American statesmen of both parties; and I shall be happy if I can in any degree strengthen their hands.

The history of the transatlantic mail service is deeply interesting. The *Sirius* was the first steamship to cross the ocean that divides the Old from the New World. She left Cork on April 5, 1838, and eighteen days later the smoke from her funnel was descried at Sandy Hook. Two ships now in existence accomplish the voyage in less than 5½ days.

For many years the American mails (as well as American goods) were carried to Europe almost exclusively in British vessels. Early in the century the British Government adopted the sagacious policy of subsidizing the shipping companies which ran vessels to the colonies and to foreign countries. Infant settlements like those at Port Jackson (Sydney) or the Cape could not, of course, supply trade enough to make the voyages remunerative. And now that such settlements have shot up into rich and powerful colonies, the subsidies are continued on a more lavish scale, on two conditions: First, that the subsidized vessels shall be con-

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structed so as to be easily converted into cruisers in case of war; Second, that they shall carry the mails. This policy of state aid was so brilliantly successful in developing trade and maintaining the supremacy of the British mercantile marine, that it was adopted in turn by all the great powers, with the single exception, until quite recently, of the United States. As American ships were not subsidized, their owners could not compete with the Cunard and other companies, the art of shipbuilding languished, and the American carrying trade was transferred to foreign bottoms. In 1891 only thirteen per cent. of the exports from the United States was carried in American ships, which at one time had engrossed ninety per cent. As a consequence of refusing $5,000,000 a year in subsidies during thirty years to native shipowners, or $150,000,000, the United States had to pay in the same period no less than $3,000,000,000 for freights, while their mercantile marine dwindled into insignificance. The fact that the country bore this heavy drain upon its earnings so long without feeling it—as if it had been a flea-bite—affords the highest possible proof of its amazing vitality and vigor. At the same time, one is puzzled to understand why the proverbial shrewdness of the American, unfailingly exhibited in his private affairs, was missing for more than a generation in this important section of national business.

In 1891, however, the famous Subsidy Act was passed. By this measure subsidies for the carriage of mails were assigned to steamships to be owned and officered and largely manned by Americans, and either built or registered in the States at the following rates: for the first-class vessels (of 8,000 tons, steaming 20 knots an hour), $4 a mile; for the second class (5,000 tons, steaming 16 knots), $2; for the third (2,500 tons, steaming 14 knots), $1; and for the fourth (1,500 tons, steaming 12 knots), $0.67. Vessels of the first, second, and third classes were to be constructed with a view to prompt conversion into cruisers.

The inevitable result of this spirited "new departure" must be to transfer the carriage of the United States mails once more to American ships. Every protectionist, even if he be an Englishman, will agree that this is as it should be. But what specially pleases me, as a postal reformer, in the Subsidies Act, is the abandonment of the absurd principle of calculating subsidies by making "fancy" payments for the mails, according to

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weight. The subsidies are to be paid in proportion to the vessel's speed and size; the first qualification having relation to the mail service, the second to the encouragement of trade and shipbuilding. How fallacious the system of payment by weight is appears in several ways. Thus for many years a British government has been paying 3s. per pound for the carriage of letters to the States, while the American Government was charged only 1s. 10d. per pound for the carriage (in the same ships and between the same ports) of its letters to Great Britain. That weight was not the determining factor was proved by the fact that the charge made by the steamship companies for carrying a pound of journals, or papers bearing printed characters, was never more than six cents, while the rate for a pound of letters, or papers bearing written characters, was 75 cents. As I have over and over again pointed out, the steamship-owners neither know nor care whether any mailbag contains letters or newspapers. Yet by the system of charging more freightage for letters than for newspapers they are apparently striving to keep in line with postal tariffs. The explanation of course is that this system is forced on them by the Post-Office, which has even to inform them how many pounds of letters and journals respectively they have carried, and are to charge for. The British postal officials gravely argue upon this that the letter postage must be correspondingly higher than the newspaper postage. Accordingly, they charge as postage on a newspaper weighing four ounces to any part of the world two cents, while their charge for a letter weighing four ounces sent in the same mailbag would be 40 cents. It reminds one of the riddle which puzzles, I will not say the American, but the British youth: "Which is the heavier, a pound of feathers or a pound of lead?"

The key to this question is to calculate the freightage payable for a bulk of cargo equal to that of the mails; on deducting the amount of such freightage from the total sum paid to the shipowner, the balance represents the subsidy paid to secure reserve cruisers, and encourage trade and shipbuilding.

Take the year 1889. In that year our Post-Office sent to the States 1,448 tons of mails, and paid in subsidues £95,170 (or $475,850). It was announced that after allowing for postage received to the amount of nearly £63,000 ($315,000), there was a "loss" of £32,300 ($161,500), and the Postmaster-

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General indignantly pointed to this "loss" as a conclusive answer to the demand for penny postage to America. Now the ordinary rate of freightage could not exceed £2 (or $10) per ton, or for the 1,448 tons of mails £2,896 ($14,480). Deducting this freightage from the postage received of $315,000 it is obvious that, instead of paying too little, the unfortunate letter-writers had paid $300,520 too much; and deducting it from the subsidy of $375,850, it is equally clear that the balance of $361,370 represents a pure bonus to the shipowners. I have gone into detail on this subject, because the same bogey of "loss" may be heard of on the farther side of the Atlantic.

I assert that there would be an absolute profit on an Anglo-American penny or two-cent post, looking simply to the cost of the freightage. The calculations on which this belief is founded are too long for the pages of a popular review. But the cost of (*a*) getting one outgoing letter on board ship at New York, (*b*) freightage to England, and (*c*) delivering in the States a return letter from England, would hardly exceed 1½ cents; leaving ½ cent profit on the transaction. It must not be forgotten that under the Postal Union convention each country pays for the conveyance of its own mails to the frontier of the country of destination, and delivers free all mails reaching it from other countries.

I, of course, have always denied that there has been a loss to the Post-Office on the carriage of mails to America, notwithstanding the fact that we pay the "fancy" price of 3s. per pound for their conveyance. During the reign of my lamented friend Mr. Raikes, Postmaster-General of England, I fought the matter out with him. I pointed out that the number of letters to the pound (to America) averaged 40. On these he got 2½d. each; that is, 8s. 4d. a pound. He paid the steamship companies only 3s. a pound, and I asserted that the 5s. 4d. a pound surplus amply repaid the cost of dealing with the letters both to and from America.

At this point I may call attention to the astounding increase of letter correspondence with America. In 1880 only 128,000 pounds weight of letters (in round numbers) were received from the United States, and in 1891 270,000 pounds weight of letters reached us. In other words 5,000,000 letters were received from the United States in 1880, and over 10,000,000 in 1891. My object in giving these figures is to show first the great improvement in our social relations with America, and secondly to prove that

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with the popular two-cent or penny rate the correspondence might fairly be expected to be instantly quadrupled.

Will not some strong and far-sighted American Postmaster-General enter into correspondence with the British Government, with a view to the conclusion of a convention for the mutual exchange by the two countries of their mails, the postage rates being identical with their domestic or inland rates? This convention would exactly correspond to the existing American convention with Canada and Mexico. I can positively assure such a minister that Great Britain will heartily and gladly respond to his invitation.

It may be interesting to mention that after a seven-years war with Post-Office bigotry and obstruction, I have persuaded the British Government to undertake to establish penny postage to her colonies, provided these colonies assent. Canada, Victoria, New Zealand, and Tasmania have already assented; and the adhesion of the remaining great colonies is shortly expected. Why should not this "restricted union" be extended so as to include the United States, and thus form an Anglo-Saxon union? This suggestion was enthusiastically welcomed in England when I first made it, three years ago, and I have never heard to this day any objection to it that would bear examination. Of course we are anxious to develop our correspondence with our American cousins. Are they not our own flesh and blood? Have not two and a half millions of our sons and daughters emigrated to the States during the last seventeen years, not to speak of another half-million who have settled in Canada? Did not American workmen and workwomen send over last year (in a year of depression) £1,170,000 in small money orders to their poor relatives, left behind them in the United Kingdom? Do not the richer citizens of the Great Republic regard it as a sacred duty to make at least one pilgrimage to the land of their fathers? and do not the American working-classes, too poor to become Hadjis, take the keenest interest in the fortunes of the old country? Surely the provision of the Postal Union convention authorizing "restricted unions" was made for such a case as this. Surely America will share with Great Britain and Ireland privileges which she has freely conceded to Canada and even to Mexico! England extends her hand; can America refuse to grasp it?

The American Government is not likely to object to penny

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postage, for it is the honorable distinction of the Washington postal administration that it refuses to make a profit out of the correspondence of the people, and if the Postmaster-General detects signs of a coming surplus he instantly casts about for the means of expending it to the best advantage in developing and improving the service. Thus one Minister has suggested one cent inland postage, another the free delivery of newspapers. The effect of a two-cent transatlantic post upon the revenue would, of course, be trifling, as compared with the vast interests concerned. Thus the total postal revenue was in 1891 (the latest year for which I can obtain a return) $65,908,909 ; whereas the total expenditure on the Atlantic service did not exceed $400,000.

I may here give a few figures, showing the growth of correspondence between the two nations, and the corresponding extension of their commerce. Some writers of the *dilettante* type decry the use of statistics, but every experienced lecturer knows the value of his blackboard and chalk. In 1877 our total imports from the States amounted to £77,825,973, and our exports to the States to £19,885,893. In 1893 these amounts were respectively £104,409,050 and £41,066,147.

Nearly all the articles exported to us from the States are of native growth or manufacture, and England is by far the best customer for American goods. It may safely be asserted therefore that the reduction of transatlantic postage would largely benefit American manufacturers and workingmen.

Mails to United Kingdom from United States.			Mails to United States from United Kingdom.		
Year.	Letters and postcards.	Other articles.	Year.	Letters and postcards.	Other articles.
	Lbs.	Lbs.		Lbs.	Lbs.
1880	127,544	562,467	....	.....	.....
1884	.....	.....	1884	227,245	.....
1885	197,841	932,535	....	.....	.....
1887	227,723	1,028,249	....	.....	.....
1888	.....	.....	1888	235,128	2,421,374
1889	261,415	1,236,607	1889	321,193	2,923,939
1890	279,145	1,315,922	....	.....	.....
1891	269,844	1,388,510	....	.....	.....
1893	....	.....	1893	318,000	.....

As the British Post-Office (whose motto is, *Odi profanum vulgus*) jealously withholds all statistics of the foreign mail ser-

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vice, I have gleaned these fragmentary returns from American reports, for which I am indebted to my distinguished friend, the Hon. John Wanamaker.

The subsidies paid to steamship companies during the year 1889 by the several States were as follows:

France	$4,953,112	Spain	$988,977
Great Britain	3,210,434	Japan	739,576
*Germany	1,261,400	United States	600,000
Italy	1,967,947		

It need not be pointed out that the Subsidies Act will place the United States at the head, instead of the end of the list.

For the present there is distressing irregularity in the transmission of mails, which are assigned one day to a fast vessel and another day to a slow one; so that a writer posting on Wednesday may sometimes communicate with his correspondent no sooner than another writer who waits till Friday. On one occasion I left England in the "City of Paris." On the same day the mails were dispatched in the "Germanic." I reached New York four days before the mails arrived there. Of course when the new vessels now building are complete this irregularity will disappear.

I have not dealt with the question of rival ports, because their advantages are almost equal, and it is a mere fight between the localities concerned for local trade. Neither have I dwelt on the question of speed. While I write I have before me a strong personal appeal from a well-known gentleman, Mr. G. A. Haig, who declares his ability to construct vessels capable of travelling sixty miles an hour.

It is now time to speak of Sir Charles Tupper's favorite scheme for diverting the transatlantic mail traffic from England to Halifax, or some other point in Nova Scotia. His idea is that we should have a national service, purely British, avoiding American territory. Halifax is only 2,463 miles from Liverpool, whereas the distance from New York to Southampton is 3,080 miles, to Queenstown 3,250, and to Liverpool 3,540. It is asserted that the distance from Ireland to the nearest point of Canadian territory is not more than 1,800 miles. Although some parts of the Nova Scotian coast are obstructed by ice in the winter, others are accessible; and the voyage could be accomplished in four and a half days. Of course the British Government has the right to send its

* Germany has since increased her subsidies to $1,986,400.

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American mails by Canada, thus delivering mails in Chicago at least a day in advance of letters by New York.

The total amount received by Great Britain for postage of letters and newspapers to North America is about £185,000 a year. An offer to pay one of the steamship companies £100,000 a year for the service was rejected. Quite recently an enterprising shipowner, Mr. Huddart, has offered to perform the service for a subsidy of £150,000 ($750,000) per annum, a sum sufficient to pay for the construction of several steamships with a speed of 20 knots. Whether his offer will be accepted is not known. But it is quite clear that the postage received will cover the cost; for besides the £185,000 there is the postage received on Canadian letters sent to the United Kingdom. The postage receipts in the States and England together for transatlantic mails must exceed £300,000 (or $1,500,000), a sum amply sufficient to make the service so swift and constant as to defeat all competition. But at present the honorable rivalry of the two governments—one striving to restore its shipbuilding industry, the other to maintain its commercial supremacy on the seas, prevents their combined action.

Though less virtually interesting than the transportation of mails, the transatlantic passenger traffic is sufficiently important to call for the best attainable service. It has been calculated that during the season about 39,000 rich Americans visit Europe, spending on the average about £300 each, or $58,500,000. About 45,000 rich Britons have been said on the same authority to visit America, in the same period, spending about as much in the States. The Cunard Company alone conveyed in 1893 no less than 102,720 passengers across the ocean; and it is probable that at least 400,000 persons are thus transported every twelvemonth. These floating multitudes represent the culture, the learning, the intellect, the wealth, and the aristocracy of the two peoples. They come and go, not to spy out the nakedness of the land they visit, but to assimilate all that is best in its ideas and methods, to remind their hosts of the existence of closely related millions over the sea, speaking Shakespeare's tongue, governed by the laws of Alfred, thinking kindly of their kinsmen. Such a circulation of messengers of goodwill is of inestimable benefit in destroying noxious prejudices, and keeping the two mightiest peoples on earth in touch and harmony.

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For the masses, however, whose lot it is to toil on, "week in, week out, from morn till night," as Longfellow sings, there is no meeting on this side of the grave with friends so far away. They have no consolation, no means of exchanging confidences and assurances of affection, except by means of the post. In each generation three millions of British folk settle in the States, and labor to increase the wealth and power of the great republic. Cannot we find it in our hearts to take off the paltry taxation that weighs on the correspondence of these poor people, without appreciably augmenting the postal revenue? A half-dollar tax on pug-dogs or fast trotting-horses would bring in double the amount. Whenever this simple reform—call it generosity or justice, which you will—is carried out, there will be joy in myriads of huts and shanties on both sides of the Atlantic, in poor back rooms of great cities, in the workshop, the mine and the field, wherever the poor toil and suffer. Let legislators and statesmen turn aside for a moment from the cares of *la haute politique* to scatter with generous hand among their humble fellow-citizens that purest and sweetest of all human pleasures, "a letter from home."

J. Henniker Heaton.

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HOW SHALL THE INDIANS BE EDUCATED?

BY SENATOR JAMES H. KYLE, OF SOUTH DAKOTA, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR.

MORE than a century has passed since, at the beginning of our government, many statesmen and philanthropists fondly dreamed of civilizing and educating the Indian, and yet we are confronting a problem still unsolved. The Indians in many parts of the United States still maintain their tribal relations, love the wild fastnesses of the frontier, with the tepee, gun, and blanket, and generally prefer to subsist by hunting rather than submit to the tasks imposed by civilized life. The problem is a great one; much more perplexing than at any time in our nation's history. Previous generations, when disputes arose and more territory was needed for a rapidly increasing population, contented themselves with crowding the red man further out upon the frontier. To-day every available spot in our country has been seized by white settlers; and the Indian, dependent upon the government for subsistence, is confined within defined reservations. We can no longer crowd them or drive them or kill them. We must protect them, and if possible make citizens of them. It would seem strange that a century of dealing with the Indians had not advanced them beyond semi-barbarianism, were it not an obvious fact that our government has maintained toward them no fixed or well defined policy. We read in vain the voluminous lists of Indian treaties and government statutes relating to the tribes to determine just what our purpose has been. At one time treating them as a foreign nation; at another caring for them as wards; by one act binding ourselves to protect them in their rights to valuable land; by another wresting it from them simply because the white man wanted it. Scarcely a treaty has been made which

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has not been broken. Few promises have been strictly kept; and yet through all we have been profuse in our declarations of philanthropy. On the whole our disposition may be said to have been humane. As early as 1791 Washington, in addressing Congress, said:

> "A system corresponding with the mixed principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy."

These views were shared by many statesmen of the time. That they were not carried into practice or adopted as a determined policy of the government was due to the inevitable law of the subjection of the inferior to the superior race. Civilization conquers barbarism by the law of the survival of the fittest; and volumes of theorizing give way before the not-to-be-impeded progress of an enlightened Anglo-Saxon race. Civilization will not allow barbarism to stand in its way. This relentless law means for the Indian extermination or absorption into the civilized citizenship of the nation. Humane governments will see that the latter rather than the former occurs. Amidst our heartless, grasping, conflicting policies our purpose, I think, has been, and is now, to convert our Indian wards into intelligent American citizens. Now that the hunting-grounds are gone and the reservations confined to the less desirable portions of the country, and the Indians are to be fed and clothed and educated by civilized taxpayers, it behooves us to trifle no longer, but adopt a policy which will, within a generation if possible, bring the majority of the tribes to self-support.

According to good authorities the Indians are not decreasing in numbers. Some say there are as many in the United States as when Columbus discovered America. The last Census gives the total number in the United States as 249,366, divided as shown in the table on page 436.

From the Commissioners' report there appears to have been a decrease in the number of Indians during the year 1889–90. But previous enumerations seem to have been mere guesses. If a decrease has occurred during the past decade it is slight, and is largely due to the utter ignorance of the Indians as to sanitary laws: a knowledge made necessary since the introduction of wooden huts or houses. It is next to impossible to get correct

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AREA OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS; ALSO POPULATION, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS OF INDIANS IN EACH STATE AND TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1880, 1890, 1891, AND 1893.

[From the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.]

States and Territories.	Area of Indian Reservation.						Indian population.				Vital statistics. *a*					
	1880.		1892.		1893.						1890.		1892.		1893.	
	Acres.	Square miles.	Acres.	Square miles.	Acres.	Square miles.	1880.	1890.	1892.	1893.	B.*	D.†	B.*	D.†	B.*	D.†
Arizona	3,092,720	4,832.50	6,464,037	10,100.00	6,400,037	10,000.00	21,361	30,749	34,962	35,277	235	162	232	177	284	214
California	501,083	783.00	463,795	724.75	438,868	685 75	10,669	12,108	12,516	12,514	83	89	60	61	61	108
Colorado	12,467,200	19,480.00	1,094,400	1,710.00	1,094,400	1,710.00	2,530	1,793	986	1,002	58	32	26	20	27	12
Dakota	36,616,448	57,213.50	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	27,168	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*
Florida										450					4	4
Idaho	2,748,981	4,295.00	2,088,091	3,262.50	2,088,091	3,262.50	4,020	4,251	4,261	4,185	70	35	45	108	73	94
Indian Territory	41,100,915	64,236.00	25,993,812	40,459.00	19,879,573	31,062.00	76,895	68,225	70,391	71,856	43	30	36	19	33	31
Iowa	692	1.00	2,900	4.50	2,900	4 50	355	399	392	389	14	18	10	8	16	20
Kansas	137,747	215.00	89,871	140.50	73,796	115.25	746	1,016	1,066	1,102	52	19	48	44	51	32
Michigan	66,332	104.00	19,799	31.00	19,799	31.00	10,141	7,428	7,428	7,428						
Minnesota	5,026,447	7,853.00	2,254,781	3,522.75	2,254,781	3,522.75	6,198	6,403	6,685	6,194	115	97	179	161	196	178
Montana	29,356,800	45,870.00	9,382,400	14,660.00	9,382,400	14,660.00	21,650	10,842	10,604	10,722	351	342	406	374	309	305
Nebraska	436,252	682.00	126,503	198.00	114.550	179.00	4,409	3,254	3,814	3,862	134	140	147	113	194	177
Nevada	885,015	1,383.00	954,135	1,490.50	954,135	1,490.50	6,800	8,375	8,442	8,500	83	51	34	42	24	23
New Mexico	7,228,731	11,295.00	9,495,645	14,837 00	9,435,645	14,837.00	23,452	10,998	9,903	9,832	1,093	1,627	97	104	52	51
New York	86,366	135.00	87,677	137.00	87,677	137.00	5,139	5,112	5,236	5,160	117	114	161	146	108	95
North Carolina	65,211	102.00	65,211	102.00	65,211	102.00	2,200	3,000	2,885	2,885			75	50	120	125
North Dakota	*b*	*b*	3,914,240	6,116.00	3,812,833	5,957.50	*c*	7,759	7,865	7,877	371	338	301	338	271	260
Oklahoma			7,605,478	11,883.50	7,231,747	11,300.00		13,176	12,903	12,676	725	908	454	556	507	737
Oregon	3,853,800	6,022.00	1,929,105	3,014.25	1,929,105	3,014.25	5,355	4,507	4,730	4,523	101	127	130	115	78	104
South Dakota	*b*	*b*	10,271,501	16,049.25	10,271,501	16,049.25	*c*	19,696	18,454	18,561	452	456	566	582	525	553
Texas							290	290	290	290						
Utah	2,039,040	3,186.00	3,972,480	6,207.00	3,972,480	6,207.00	840	2,211	2,260	2,267	51	41	27	34	25	20
Washington	6,925,748	10,821.00	4,045,284	6,321.00	4,046,564	6,323.00	14,289	9,830	9,981	9,924	379	331	213	264	243	270
Wisconsin	586,026	916.00	446,521	697.50	446,521	697.50	8,847	9,152	9,265	9,387	271	195	218	287	294	256
Wyoming	1,520,000	2,375.00	1,810,000	2,828.00	1,810,000	2,828.00	2,063	1,658	1,719	1,724	65	75	43	57	61	72
Miscellaneous							710	1,302	1,302	728						
Total	154,741,554	241,800.00	92,477,666	144,496.00	85,872,614	134,175.75	256,127	*d*243,524	248,340	249,366	4,863	5,218	3,508	3,660	3,559	3,741

a The vital statistics in regard to Indians are defective. *b* The Territory of Dakota was admitted to the Union, November 2, 1889, as two States, viz.: North Dakota and South Dakota. *c* See Dakota. *d* The reduction below the population for 1889 is due mainly to reduced estimates of the number of Pimas, Papagoes and Navajoes in Arizona. * Births. † Deaths.

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data of deaths among the Indians. In my judgment the rate of births does not decrease, but a large percentage of children are carried off by disorders arising from the filthy and diseased manner of living. In the days of the tepee, nature took care of the Indian by furnishing pure air. But since the introduction of houses, one may often see a large family, old and young, huddled in a large room, air-tight, with dirt floor, foul bunks, dogs, food and utensils, and a stove, which in winter is kept red hot. Ventilation is unknown. As a result, thousands of the Indians to-day are victims of scrofula and kindred troubles. With education and the instruction now being given by matrons on the reservations this evil will be corrected, and I look to see the Indian race increase as rapidly as the whites.

Another hindrance to the civilization of the Indian in the past has been the trickery and fraud practised by government officers, agents, and employees. An Indian agency has often been given as a reward for political services. Men have been chosen for their positions, not from fitness or experience, but to cancel political debts. The office has been regarded as a license to filch and rob the Indian for a period of years. Contractors have furnished cattle of a poor grade and of light weight. Cows were furnished that no one could milk. Horses were thrust upon them which were suitable for neither work nor breeding purposes. The distribution of clothing has been without regard to wants or fitness; meats have been rotten, etc., etc. All this on the principle that anything was good enough for an Indian. Under late rules of the Indian Department, however, these evils are rapidly being corrected, and the day is not far distant when all agencies will be conducted on business principles, and in such a manner as to command the co-operation of the Indians toward their own education and development.

One of the best measures yet adopted for the civilization of the Indian was the action of Congress in passing what is known as the Dawes Severalty Bill. This is the first attempt toward breaking up the tribal relations, a condition which has for one hundred years stood in the way of progression. Under this new system nearly twenty thousand Indians have taken allotments, and government officers are prosecuting the work as rapidly as possible. Each Indian family conforming to this law now has a local habitation where a suitable home can be built under

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the supervision of the agent, barns and inclosures for stock, and around which in time will gather the comforts of the home. But, best of all, it means the beginning of an occupation, the want of which on many reservations has done more than anything else to produce idleness and the vices common among Indians to-day.

The experience of some of the older agencies is evidence enough to show that the Indians will make successful farmers if properly encouraged. On this point I quote from the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1893 some testimonials of Indian agents. The agent of the Yankton tribe of South Dakota gives the following encouraging report:

Three years have now transpired since this tribe received their individual allotments or land. Nearly all Indian families now reside on their farms, all of them have fields of greater or less extent, and many of them have erected comfortable houses and other buildings and planted groves of cottonwood and other native trees, whilst several of the most thrifty among them have planted apple and other fruit trees; all of which make many of the Indian homes look attractive and pleasant.

The estimated yield of farm crops as made last year proved quite correct, except as to the corn crop, which proved almost a total failure, owing partly to the long continued drought and partly to poor cultivation. The crop for 1893-94 is estimated and will not vary to any great extent from the following:

Crop.	Acreage.	Estimated amount.	Estimated value.	Crop.	Acreage.	Estimated amount.	Estimated value.
		Bushels.				Bushels.	
Wheat...	2,240	26,880	$10,752	Potatoes	60	3,000	$1,500
Oats.	660	16,500	4,125	Flax.....	10	65	40
Corn.....	1,230	30,000	9,000	Garden..	45	.....	250

The Indians have purchased during the year several more binders and other farm machinery, and to all appearances they will hereafter be able to supply themselves with all the farm machinery and tools that they may require.

The above (Yankton) reservation is located in a fairly good agricultural region. The following, however, is from the report of the agent at Rosebud, South Dakota, a drought-stricken district, and certainly shows commendable perseverance on the part of the Sioux Indians:

The acreage cultivated this year aggregates 3,743 acres, of which 2,473 was planted with corn, 320 with wheat, 750 with oats, and 200 with potatoes and other vegetables. The wheat and oats have been cut, where suitable for threshing, and the yield is estimated as follows: 2,505 bushels of wheat,

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5,685 bushels of oats, 10,712 bushels of corn, and 552 bushels of potatoes and other vegetables.

Considerable wheat was raised last year for the first time, and about 700 bushels marketed at Valentine, Neb., where a mill is located, and 575 bushels sold at the agency for seed. Although a good crop of oats was raised, Indians preferred to retain them for use rather than dispose of them.

Many Indians also gather large quantities of wild turnips, which are dried for winter use. They have attended to farmwork, under supervision of district farmers and direction of the agent, satisfactorily, though determined actions have been necessary to require some to make an effort; but were results more encouraging, more would be done. It is, however, difficult and discouraging to all interested to induce them to enlarge their fields when by drought and other causes many have little or nothing to show for labor and efforts made.

STOCK-RAISING.—This industry is now receiving especial attention, since it is proven that from this source must Indians depend largely for returns and become, if ever, self-supporting. There are at present 12,991 cattle on this reservation belonging to Indians, this spring's increase of calves being 3,202. Every effort is being made to promote this industry.

INDUSTRY.—The Indians of this agency during the past year have been paid, for transporting freight from railroad to agency and issue stations, together with freight for traders and lumber transported for missionaries for building purposes, $15,466.47. They have sold to the Government 968 head of beef cattle, aggregating 1,016,860 pounds, for which they were paid $31,100.75, the beef being subsequently issued under treaty stipulations. They have cut and delivered at the agency and camp schools, to traders and to two missionary boarding-schools, 797 cords of wood, receiving therefor $3,300.44; for grain and hay sold to agency, $1,409.91; and for grain, hay, and other products sold to traders and others, $640.50: aggregating $51,918.07 received for their industry during the year; besides which they have also received 4,833 hides, and marketed the bones saved from beef cattle, for which they receive $6 per ton, delivered at the railroad.

With the above proceeds many have purchased young stock and implements, and otherwise improved their condition. It also demonstrates that these Indians, like white people, will work when an incentive is in view and when money is to be obtained for labor spent. In agriculture in this country there is much labor, little if any money, great uncertainty, and more discouragement than the majority of any people would or could cheerfully endure.

Reports from many Western agencies are even more encouraging. Under circumstances often that would dishearten the white man the Indian has found a living for himself and family. Less than 25 per cent. of the total number of Indians at the present time draw rations from the government, and, despite our paternal methods, are reaching out to self-support. Prof. J. W. Powell says of them:

More than two-thirds of all the Indians now wrest from the soil and from industrial occupations the means of subsistence, without aid from the General Government, having abandoned hunting, fishing, and the gathering

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of native vegetables, except as a pastime and for occasional supplies. Two-thirds of them are actually engaged in civilized industries, and are fighting their industrial battles with success. One-third have not accomplished this much, and subsist in part on native products, and in part on civilized industries, and in part on the charity of the Government. All have learned to work to some extent, and all have learned the utter hopelessness of contending against the forces of civilization, and have abandoned the expectation, and generally the desire, to return to their primeval condition.

In many States they are driven from the more desirable lands to the barren semi-arid districts, and if confined there the government must provide means for irrigation as rapidly as the lands are taken in severalty. In other words we must make self-support possible. Where irrigation has been tried in New Mexico, Arizona, and other States it has proven successful and abundance of produce is raised. So that in the occupation of agriculture there is every reason to hope that the Indian will be able to compete with his white neighbor.

The apathy manifested towards the adoption of a humanitarian or educational policy is also accounted for by the current belief among public men that the Indian cannot be civilized, and that all money spent in bettering his condition is as good as wasted. John Quincy Adams, in his published diary of proceedings while President, records the following as the views of Henry Clay, then Secretary of State:

"Mr. Clay said that it was impossible to civilize Indians; that there never was a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It is not their nature. He believed they were destined to extinction, and though he would not use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them as a race worth preserving. He considered them as essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race, which were now taking their place on this continent. They were not an improvable breed, and their disappearance from the human family will be no great loss to the world. In point of fact they were rapidly disappearing, and he did not believe that in fifty years from this time there would be any of them left. Governor Barbour was somewhat shocked at these opinions, for which I fear there is much foundation."

These statesmen, were they living to-day, might hear such sentiments expressed by prominent members of Congress. Even though more than fifty years have passed and Indian wars have ceased, those interested in the Indian problem are not agreed by any means that any good can come from an Indian reservation. And yet the humane sentiment of the country has prevailed. Through educational, religious, and other civilizing influences we are attempting to make men and women of the Indians. Notwith-

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standing the statements of prominent public men to the contrary, the Indians want civilization. Of course many still possess the wild instinct and are devoid of any desire for education. Such people, however, are found among the white race. But the wise leaders and thinking men of the Indian race to-day see that their tribal history is doomed, and that their future, if they have one, must be linked with the white race, adopting the manners and customs of civilization. These sentiments were expressed to me within a few months by some of the oldest and most respected chiefs of the Sioux Nation. They spoke earnestly of their children and their wishes as to education and other subjects. They said the days of hunting were gone, and that though they themselves were too old to change their manner of life, their children must subsist by agriculture and the trades. This was not spoken with regret, but with feelings of hope as to a better future.

The Indian, moreover, has within him the capabilities upon which to base a better manhood and citizenship, despite the barbarous instincts attributed to him. With no incentive to work, and with encouragement to vice and idleness on every hand, there are to-day upon the reservations many excellent and worthy Indian men and women. Though stolid and sphinx-like in demeanor, the Indian has the feelings and affections common to human beings. With no educational advantages, they are men of remarkable sense, often approaching a high order of ability. The old Chief of the Sioux Nation, Spotted Tail, was a striking figure whether taken physically or intellectually. The late Mrs. Elizabeth Winans, a Sioux woman, during a life of Christian service for her people, was actuated by a purpose as pure and noble as that shown by any philanthropist of the country. Among the Indians are fine natural orators and statesmen, equalled by few educated white men. Under education they have shown themselves quick and ready learners, competing easily with white pupils of the same age. I have observed them at their studies, and am convinced that they are as capable as white children of grasping the ordinary branches taught in the common schools. It has been my pleasure to hear addresses from full-blooded Indian college students which would do credit to undergraduates of Yale or Harvard.

Since the days of Eliot, philanthropists have done something towards educating the Indians, though no definite plan

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seems to have been adopted by the government until of late years. Indian children were gathered together by missionaries for religious instruction. These sectarian schools have demonstrated Indian education, and are equal to any schools on the reservations to-day, both as to instruction and methods employed to develop pupils. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports 76 of these schools, located as follows: Arizona 1, California 5, Idaho 1, Indiana 2, Kansas 1, Michigan 2, Minnesota 8, Montana 7, Nebraska 2, New Mexico 12, North Dakota 3, Oklahoma 8, Pennsylvania 1, South Dakota 10, Virginia 1, Washington 4, Wisconsin 7, and Wyoming 1.

These institutions are equipped with intelligent, self-sacrificing teachers, often better fitted for such work than those furnished through the government. The difference between the missionary teacher and the government employee is that the former is always imbued with the honest belief that an Indian can be both civilized and christianized. Out on the barren prairie, miles from the nearest village or agency, is often seen what is called a mission. Ample buildings have been furnished through the generosity of Eastern friends, which serve as dormitories and schoolrooms for boys and girls. Scattered round are shops for industrial education—for both boys and girls are taught in the useful arts. Gardens furnish a supply of vegetables, while stretching for a mile can be seen fields of beautiful grain. The above is a description of a sectarian school recently visited by the writer. There were Indian boys and girls ranging from four to fourteen years of age, dressed in plain, but neat clothing, all bright and happy. The boys at the time (evening) were playing ball, and the girls in an adjoining yard were having a genuine romp. These children are kept through the entire year, not being allowed to go home except for a week during the holidays or during sickness. Parents are privileged to see their children any day they may come. In this way pupils are kept among their people, but are not allowed to fall back to the custom of the tepee and the blanket. Sectarian schools until within a year or two received aid from the government, but all, I believe, have now relinquished this assistance except the Roman Catholic denomination.

The government, following the plan of the denominational schools and our public-school system, has established 156 board-

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ing-schools, with an average attendance of 13,635; and 119 ordinary day schools, with an average attendance of 2,668. The former are generally located at the agencies, and the latter are scattered over the reservations much like our common country schools. Good teachers, both men and women, are furnished through the Civil Service Commission in connection with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The schoolhouses are well furnished and kept clean. The compulsory system of attendance is strictly carried out; a policeman being sent for every child who fails to put in an appearance. Children are required to be neat and clean, and conform to all the usages of civilized life.

But while the Indians may show talents capable of great development, I would not approve giving them superior educational advantages. Professional men, with very few exceptions, are not to be thought of among Indians, who must expect after being educated to live with their people. An examination of the catalogues of some of our Indian schools reveals the fact that our Indian training-schools have adopted the plan of industrial training—the curriculum of study not being advanced beyond the ordinary grammar grade. The government has established twenty of these non-reservation training-schools, located as follows:

Name of school.	Date of opening.	Number of employés	Rate per annum.	Capacity	Enrolment.	Average attendance.
Carlisle, Pa	Nov. 1, 1879	72	167	*800	840	731
Chemawa, Oregon	Feb. 25, 1880	31	175	300	336	248
Ft. Stevenson, N. Dak.	Dec. 18, 1883	21	...	150	157	153
Chilocco, Okla	Jan. 15, 1884	42	167	†300	236	224
Genoa, Neb	Feb. 20, 1884	40	167	400	414	340
Albuquerque, N. Mex.	Aug., 1884	52	175	300	269	222
Haskell, Kan	Sept. 1, 1884	48	167	500	606	538
Grand Junction, Colo.	1886	17	175	120	102	98
Santa Fé, N. Mex.	Oct., 1890	33	175	175	173	118
Fort Mojave, Ariz.	Oct., 1890	22	167	150	134	118
Carson, Nev	Dec., 1890	23	175	125	122	80
Pierre, S. Dak.	Feb., 1891	19	167	180	147	120
Phœnix, Ariz	Sept. 1891	26	175	130	121	105
Fort Lewis, Colo.	Mar. 1892	20	...	300	94	63
Fort Shaw, Mont.	Dec. 27, 1892	24	...	250	171	135
Perris, Cal.	Jan. 9, 1893	12	167	120	113	90
Flandreau, S. Dak.	Mar. 7, 1893	12	...	150	98	86
Pipestone, Minn	Feb., 1893	12	167	75	61	38
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	Jan. 3, 1893	11	167	100	59	36
Tomah, Wis.	Jan. 19, 1893	12	167	75	93	77
Total		.....	.....	4,700	4,346	3,621

* With outing system. † When improvements under way are completed.

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The founders of this system have based their hopes largely on the contact of Indian youths with civilization. And no doubt the trades and the outing plan have done much to teach self-reliance and confidence in the competitive struggle with the white race. But it is a question whether the training-school system is not being overworked, or worked beyond the progress of the tribes on the reservations. The two must coöperate, or advance side by side. What the Indians of to-day need is a plain, every-day education in the rudimentary branches, as is given in the reservation public schools; that which will fit them for the trades and agricultural pursuits. Our college and state universities will gladly take and educate any specially bright pupils who may be needed as teachers and for other professional work.

The Indian needs, above all things, a trained hand and something to do. Idleness is the mother of all vices, and it is surprising that so many of the Indians are upright and show a disposition to improve when pampered and fed by the government. A nation of whites so treated would have gone to destruction. But with an industrial education and a proper policy as to supplying the Indians with work I believe the race will make rapid strides towards citizenship.

The curse of the Carlisle or Hampton or Genoa youth to-day on coming back to the Reservation is, nothing to do. They have been among civilized people, and in a measure learned their ways. They return to the tepee, and with their citizen suits and manners find themselves a laughing-stock among their people. No wonder that they often take to the blanket again and conform to the only mode of life left to them. A very few may be employed as blacksmiths, clerks, or teachers around the agencies. As a rule these remain progressive.

The old chiefs of the tribe sadly lamented the condition of their educated young men. No less than four of them at a public meeting on the reservation spoke of the folly of sending their children off to school. They pointed to the barren prairies and the tepees, and said there was nothing better for the young than for the old. If the young men are to be educated, then, said they, let the government plan work for them. While on a recent trip to the West a young man who had just learned the blacksmith trade at school begged me to intercede with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to secure him a "job of work." He was an

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earnest, honest young man, who desired to earn money and get a home. At the same time while walking round a number of tepees I discovered a young man about 20 years of age, of fine appearance, with a nice suit of clothes—dark coat, light trousers, and polished shoes—sitting upon a wagon tongue. He looked disconsolate. Pointing to an Indian and squaw and two girls, I asked who they were. He said they were his father, mother, and two sisters. Said I, "Have you been off to school?" He replied: "Yes, I was off three and a half years and learned the tailor's trade; but there is nothing for me to do here." Looking at the primitive dress of those around him, I thought his prospects were not very bright. He would find it difficult to compete with white people were he to remain at the East, and the government had not yet made it necessary to have tailors amongst the Indians.

This leads me to remark that the earnest desire of the chiefs is that the industrial boarding and training schools shall be established on the reservations—not somewhere East—and that their children shall not only learn the trades, but shall be privileged to manufacture as far as possible the articles now purchased for them under the contract system. In agricultural districts the Indians should be taught farming. But it is folly to unload farm implements before their tepees and tell them to go to work. The customs of centuries cannot be changed in a day, nor can new modes be acquired without time and instruction. After the selection of allotments the government must furnish a sufficient number of practical farmers to cover the entire district, whose duty it shall be to manage farms from seed-time to harvest. This must include instruction in use and care of machinery, time for sowing and reaping, the kind of crops to raise with profit, and the care of stock. Under the present arrangement sub-farmers are furnished as instructors; but with no definite habitations, no barns or corrals, and a breed of horses not much larger than the Mexican burro, farming among the Indians is a farce.

We purchased last year as rations for all tribes about 30,000,000 pounds of beef. These cattle are largely furnished under contract by white people. The Indians take naturally to stock-raising, and there is no reason why they should not provide all the cattle used at the agencies. Our reservations are covered with luxuriant grass and millions of acres go to waste annually. Let the government buy good marketable stock cattle—not scrub

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grades—and furnish them to the Indians; and in a few years every man of them will feel a pride as he looks at his herd and will contribute the beef now purchased from the whites. Thousands of cattle are now raised successfully by the Indians on the reservations, and there is no reason why this business cannot be made a great success.

The Indians are furnished a great many articles, such as hardware, medical supplies, household utensils, medicines, glassware, groceries, etc., which must necessarily be supplied from abroad; but they should be encouraged to manufacture, though in crude form and perhaps at greater expense, all articles used upon the farm. The training-schools have given the Indians tailors, wagon-makers, shoemakers, harness-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, painters, etc. These young men are nearly all idle, except as they do odd jobs around the agencies. During the past year the government bought and supplied to the Indians 51,188 pounds of leather, 1,271 ploughs, 941 sets of harness, 7,965 dozen pairs of socks, 16,000 shawls, 6,728,900 pounds of flour, 29,777,100 pounds of beef, and 646,370 pounds of bacon.

All these necessaries can be produced by the Indians upon the reservations. On some reservations underneath the ground is stored the finest artesian water power in the world. On the east side of the Missouri River, in the Dakotas, artesian wells are running factories and flouring-mills. A good well will furnish power for sewing-machines, knitting-factories, turning lathes, wagon factories, and flouring-mills. With a good superintendent I think the Indian young men and women will prove excellent workmen. Cattle hides now bring the Indians 60 cents apiece. They are natural tanners. Why not establish tanneries and consume the hides of the millions of beeves slaughtered annually on the reservations? Utilize the leather thus made in the manufacture of shoes and harness. The material for wagons is furnished all small dealers to-day partly finished; hubs, spokes, felloes, and axles being sawed in the rough. Why not furnish such material to Indians and employ all wheelwrights and blacksmiths? An Indian is not particular as to the style of his clothing. Why not furnish substantial kinds of cloth to the agencies, and employ all the young men and women who have learned the tailor's trade? The same should be done in the manufacture of flour, socks, stockings, hats and caps, and many agricultural

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implements. So far as the trades have been prosecuted by the Indians they have shown themselves apt learners and willing workers. In fact they take to manufacturing naturally. The mocassins, beadwork, worked baskets, buckskin clothing, ornamented bridles, bows and arrows made by them all show natural taste and skill and fine workmanship. From the training-schools are shown samples of shoes, clothing, and harness equal to similar articles produced by white workmen. Indian agents also testify as to the ability shown in the trades. The agent at Yankton Agency, South Dakota, reports as follows:

SHOPS AND SHOPWORK.—With the exception of the superintendent all of the employees at the shops are Indians. The carpenter, wagon repair, blackmith, harness, and tin shops have been run the past year about the same as the year before. A small charge is made for harness-work, with a view to cover the cost of the leather used; also a price has been fixed upon certain materials used in the wagon and carpenter shops, with the same object in view. The repair work at the shop employs the shop hands nearly all the time. The amount and variety of the work done are remarkable, such as glazing windows, repairing door locks, filing saws, repairing all sorts of household articles, soldering handles on tin cans, and similar jobs.

In addition to the regular repair work there has been manufactured and issued to the Indians during the year the following:

Bedsteads	10	Camp kettles	50
Coffeepots	387	Cupboards	46
Corn markers	36	Doors	21
Tin cups	343	Door frames	31
Tin pails	247	Hay racks	14
Tin pans	90	Iron chimneys	16
Stovepipe joints	123	Tables	30
Wagon boxes	23	Wagon seats	8
Coffins	46		

These matters are of great importance to the development of this badly treated and uncivilized race of people. Industrial education must go hand in hand with the school, establishing the habits of labor and stimulating an ambition for accumulating property. One generation of vigorous humane policy on the part of the government will bring the Indians not only to self-support, but to citizenship. The factors in the solution are: first, a belief that the Indian can be civilized; second, a well-defined policy; and, third, the divorcement of the entire Indian question from politics. We have dealt with them cruelly and with no well-settled purpose to civilize them; but there is yet time to make amends, and save to the country the credit of having conquered yet preserved and civilized a most interesting race of people.

JAMES H. KYLE.

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THE MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS OF LONDON.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

THE statement of Lord Beaconsfield that "in political institutions are embodied the experiences of a race" is true also of English municipal institutions. "The combination of voluntary organization, with administrative machinery, marks (according to the high authority of Bishop Stubbs) the English municipal system from its earliest days;" and it has been for long ages not only a training-school for the leaders of the people, but also a means of interesting and educating ordinary inhabitants in the affairs of their municipalities.

The beneficent effects upon this country, of the custom of local self-government thus rooted in municipal antiquity, were eulogized by Mr. Gladstone at the Guildhall of the city of London, some years ago, in language not to be forgotten. He said:

> "The practice of local self-government, if at least I have any faculty of judging the causes of the greatness of our country, has contributed, in a degree inferior to no other cause, to the eminence and power to which it has attained."

In England and America, the two great homes of the Anglo-Saxon race, are to be found municipal institutions based upon that principle of free popular election, which the political system of those countries also rests upon; and whatever changes the future may bring to their corporate structure, no doubt can be entertained that the free play and development of the principles of popular election and local self-government, by the people in their various municipal communities, ought to be ever safeguarded with the utmost vigilance and solicitude. Opinions may differ as to what should be the form and constitution of the corporate body through which the principles of local self-government ought in any particular place to act, but there is practical unanimity regarding

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the necessity of preserving it, and stimulating its operation, wherever local conditions afford opportunity and scope for its exercise. Although the important problem of municipal government, now awaiting solution in London, has increased in difficulty and complexity with the rapid and unprecedented growth of the metropolis, it is not by any means a new one.

In 1853 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the constitution, order, and government of the Corporation, and to consider whether any measures were necessary to make better provisions for the government of the City. The Lord Mayor of that day, in giving evidence before the commission, expressed his opinion that since the legislature had decided to enfranchise portions of the Metropolis for political purposes, it ought to complete the work, and enfranchise for municipal purposes also, by creating separate municipalities in truest accordance with the principles of local self-government, which a monster municipality would annihilate by subjecting the communities of the Metropolis to a great assembly, caring but little for their local affairs.

The two methods of dealing with metropolitan municipal government thus alluded to, namely unification on the one hand and federated municipalities on the other, indicate the question which then was, and still is, the fundamental one for settlement. The chief difficulties to be grappled with in the solution of the problem arise out of the importance of the City in relation to the rest of the Metropolis, and the amplitude of the whole Metropolitan area and population.

The Metropolis embraces the City of London and the County of London, which last consists of portions of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent combined together. The whole Metropolis has been well described as

> "a province covered with houses, having a diameter from north to south, and from east to west, so great that the persons living at its extremities have few interests in common; each inhabitant being in general acquainted only with his own quarter, and having no minute knowledge of other parts of the town."

The Metropolis is under two systems of municipal government —that of the City Corporation, and that of the London County Council.

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Referring in the first place to that of the City, it is to be observed that, although the area of the City only consists of about one square mile, its antiquity and historical associations, privileges, revenues, and unique commercial position as the greatest, most crowded, and wealthiest commercial emporium in the world, combine to give it paramount importance in the Metropolitan system. Although its sleeping or caretaking population is not more than 38,000, its day or business population amounts to over 300,000; and this great difference in numbers has become more marked as the City has increased in prosperity. In fact, adopting the language of Lord Macaulay:

> "Lombard Street and Threadneedle Street are merely places where men toil and accumulate. They go elsewhere to enjoy and to spend. On a Sunday, or in an evening after the hours of business, some courts and alleys, which a few hours before had been alive with hurrying feet and anxious faces, are as silent as the glades of a forest."

It should be noted in passing that this change in the character of city life is not confined to London, but is observable in a lesser degree in various large cities and towns of the United Kingdom. In other places, however, the central business population and the surrounding residential population are enumerated together in the taking of the municipal census; but in the City of London, for occult reasons, the plan adopted by the government, of "numbering the people," practically ignores the most important business population in the world.

The daily vehicular traffic, to and from the City, represents nearly 100,000 conveyances; and the pedestrians who cross the four City bridges number approximately 280,000. The ratable value of the City has during the present century advanced beyond precedent. In 1801 it was £507,372, and in 1893 it had risen to £4,153,930. As compared with the ratable value of other incorporated cities and towns, the City of London far exceeds that of the whole of Liverpool; is more than £1,000,000 in advance of Manchester; is £500,000 more than Birmingham and Leeds combined, and is about equal to the aggregate ratable values of Sheffield, Bradford, Bristol, and Nottingham, and is nearly tenfold that of Blackburn or Bolton. The relative importance of the City will further appear by reference to the profits derived from trades, professions, etc., assessed to income tax, as compared with the assessment of the County of London. In 1889–

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1890 the assessment to income tax of the City was £28,796,000 more than that of the County.

What has now been stated regarding the business population, the ratable value, and the magnitude of the mercantile and pecuniary transactions carried on in the City, taken together with its unique history and central position, seems "to render its comprehension in a general measure of municipal regulation a matter of extreme difficulty, and to point it out as a fit subject for separate and special legislation."

The claims of the City to peculiar consideration at the hands of the municipal reformer, must surely be enhanced, when some of the public works and improvements, which the Corporation has executed in London in quite modern times and the expenditure connected therewith, are remembered; for example, widening and improving the thoroughfares near Temple Bar, the Strand, and Holborn, at a cost of nearly £250,000; providing a site for the General Post-Office, costing £80,000; forming and improving the approaches to new London bridge at an expense exceeding £1,020,000; the removal of Fleet Market and the formation of Farringdon Street, £250,000; enlarging the Royal Exchange and improving the adjoining streets, £230,000; erecting a new Coal Exchange, £122,000; forming new streets from St. Paul's Cathedral to King William Street and new Cannon Street, £540,000; preserving 6,500 acres of open space in the neighborhood of London, for the perpetual use and enjoyment of the people, £341,000; building the Holborn Valley Viaduct, and the improvements connected therewith, nearly one and three-quarter millions; and the last, but not the least, of the City's gifts to London is the Tower Bridge, which, though costing more than a million sterling, is acknowledged to be worth the large outlay.

The advantage to the public at large of the General Post Office and the open spaces is self-evident, and the funds disbursed in connection with the other works and improvements have similarly been productive of benefit to the whole Metropolitan population, since by means thereof the City Corporation has provided, enlarged, and improved channels for the ebb and flow of the great human tide which daily surges in and out of the civic centre.

All of the before-mentioned works of public utility have been provided by the Corporation for the common good without any

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cost whatever, either direct or indirect, to the ratepayer, and have involved an aggregate expenditure of over five and a half millions sterling; defrayed (excepting the cost of the Tower Bridge and of the open spaces) chiefly out of the ancient, but now extinct, coal duty of 4d. per ton levied by the Corporation almost from time immemorial on coal brought into the port of London. The Tower Bridge was erected out of moneys raised on the revenues of the Bridge House estates, which have belonged to the Corporation from a remote antiquity, and have furnished funds for the building and maintenance of the city bridges. The 6,500 acres of open spaces were acquired as lungs and recreation grounds for "Greater London" by means of the revenues produced by the old duties, which for centuries the Corporation was entitled to receive in respect of grain and other measurable articles brought into the port of London.

The good record of the Corporation of London is not confined to the material benefits which it has conferred on the Metropolis. It has done so much on behalf of the liberties of the country that the Historian of the Constitution (Mr. Hallam) eulogizes it as "this stronghold of popular liberty." And Sir George Grey, when introducing his bill in 1856, for the better regulation of the Corporation of London, referred to the services which it had rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty and of constitutional government, as entitling it to be treated with all possible respect and consideration.

Passing now to the County of London: It comprises an area of 120 square miles, with a population of some four and a quarter millions; and is under the municipal jurisdiction of the London County Council, as well as of forty subordinated vestries and district boards. These are ancillary and local bodies, and have with few exceptions existed since 1855, in which year they were, by the Metropolis Management Act, subjected to the controlling authority of the Metropolitan Board of Works. That Board was created by the same statute, and the whole main drainage system of the Metropolis was placed under its superintendence. It consisted of forty-three members, three of whom were elected by the City Corporation, and the rest by the vestries and district boards. Although the Metropolitan Board of Works passed in 1888 to the limbo of discredited institutions, in favor of the London County Council, what it and the vestries accomplished for the Metropolis

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will give them a lasting fame which their successors may well emulate.

The late Mr. Bottomley Firth, who was no friend of the Board or the Vestries, said :

> "With all their faults, and they are many, the Vestries have done much for London ; any comparison drawn between our condition to-day (1876) and our condition twenty years ago, in any single matter under Vestry control, abundantly proves this. When the board began their work the condition of the London sewerage was very different from what it is now. The main drainage system of London is now the best of any on the face of the globe."

By means of it nearly 200 million gallons of sewage from the most populous capital in the world are daily disposed of.

The next great achievement of the Board was the embankment of the north side of the Thames, from Blackfriars Bridge to Westminster. It was accomplished in 1862 at a cost of £1,157,000, defrayed by the Corporation out of its coal dues. This splendid work, to quote Mr. Firth's language again, "will stand as a monument of the engineering skill of those who constructed it, as long as London shall last."

It is worthy of notice here that the building by the Corporation, as before mentioned, of the Holborn Valley Viaduct, occurred in 1861—the year before the embankment of the Thames by the Board of Works. It will thus appear that these two splendid and most useful works were executed by the Corporation and the board—at that time the two great municipal bodies of the Metropolis—without any clashing of jurisdictions, when London was not under that unified system of local government which some think to be the panacea for all municipal ills.

In the year 1888 the Local Government Act was passed substituting the present London County Council for the Metropolitan Board ; and special exemption clauses were introduced for the protection of the Corporation.

An important difference between the Board of Works and the County Council consists in the fact that instead of the Vestries and the District Boards sending their own representatives to the County Council, as they formerly did to the Board of Works, so producing unity of action between the central and the local authorities, the members of the Council, as well as of the Vestries and District Boards, are now chosen directly by the ratepayers, and thus the connecting link between the Council and the local authorities is lost.

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Many abortive attempts have been made in Parliament to deal with the question of the municipal government of London; from that of Sir George Grey in 1856, to that of Sir William Harcourt in 1884. The latter brought in the London Government Bill of that year, which proceeded on the principle of unification, and failed to become law. The latest experiment in London government was presented last year, when the Government appointed a Royal Commission "to consider the conditions under which the amalgamation of the City and County of London could be effected, and to make specific and practical proposals for that purpose."

From 1853 down to 1884 the better opinion seems to have been in favor of separate federated municipalities, but in 1884 the craze for vastness and unification had set in, and appeared in Sir William Harcourt's bill of that year. It can also be traced in the Local Government Act of 1888, and is last seen in threatening activity in the Royal Commission of 1883. Experience seems to show that the cost of governing very large populations and areas by a centralized system is most burdensome to the people.

The expenditure of the London County Council during the first year of its administration (1889) was £1,617,000, whilst the amount which the ratepayers will have to find for the year ending 31st March, 1895, is £1,972,000. In 1849 the Municipal Budget of Paris was £1,640,000, and the population was 946,000. In 1860, when the population was 1,800,000, the City Budget rose to £4,160,000, and in 1883 the expenditure of the city reached the sum of £10,400,000 sterling, the population then being two and a quarter millions.

New York, containing a population of over one and a half millions, is taxed over thirty-three millions of dollars per annum, or nearly twenty-two dollars per head of the population. A municipal government of excessive magnitude is not only wasteful and expensive, but popular control over the adminstration is proportionately diminished.

Professor Goldwin Smith has well said:

"It is strange that statesmen should not by this time have seen that genuine election by a huge district, the inhabitants of which are strangers to each other, is a moral impossibility. The inevitable outcome is the ward politician with his machinery for collecting votes."

New York and Paris proclaim with warning voice that the

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biggest things in local government are not very different from the biggest failures. In the case of the British metropolis, the evils of a centralizing system would probably, in course of time, become aggravated beyond all precedent because of the enormous numbers of the population and the vast magnitude of the interests which would come under its jurisdiction. A further argument against one municipality for the whole Metropolis arises from its division by the River Thames, and cannot be better stated than in the words of the Royal Commissioners of 1853, who said :

"The bisection of London by the Thames furnishes an additional reason for not placing the whole town under a single municipal corporation. All roads, streets, sewers, gas-pipes, and water-pipes—in short, all means of superficial or subterranean communication—which run in continuous lines from north to south, are necessarily stopped by the river. Many of these are directly or indirectly the subjects of Municipal control, and therefore a Municipal body which governed the Metropolis both north and south of the Thames would find that the continuity of its operations was in many respects interrupted by natural circumstances."

The Commissioners further said that—

"If an attempt were made to give a Municipal organization to the entire Metropolis, by a wider extension of the present boundaries of the City, the utility of the Corporation as an institution suited to its limited area would be destroyed;"

and they saw

"no reason why the benefit of municipal institutions should not be extended to the rest of the Metropolis by its division into municipal districts, each forming a municipal government of its own."

The two methods of dealing with the London problem, namely, unification with centralization, as opposed to decentralization with federated municipalities, still show the chief line of cleavage in the views of the leaders of thought on municipal questions. Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt appear to favor unification and centralization; whilst Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Prof. Goldwin Smith, following men like Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir George Grey, and Mr. John Stuart Mill, think "that the full advantages of municipal life cannot be obtained" for London unless the vast metropolitan area be divided into municipalities which shall "deal with all those subjects which are not, from the nature of the case, necessarily under the control of a central body." The experience of smaller municipalities, like Birming-

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ham, seems now to be against further extension, for, as Mr. Chamberlain said recently in Parliament,

"Even our provincial municipalities are growing to such an extent, that it will be impossible for them to remain under one system of self-government."

If that argument applies to municipalities like Birmingham, with populations of less than half a million, how much more will it apply to the Metropolis, with a population ten times greater—a population about as large as Ireland's, larger than that of Scotland, and thrice as large as that of Wales? No such experiment in municipal government has ever been attempted, as that of placing the English metropolis under a unified system; and the question naturally arises, Is London such an exception to all other places that absolutely no limit exists to the population and area over which the progressive spirits of the capital can efficiently rule? Mr. Chamberlain affirms that

"A population of half a million is practically the largest number that can be governed from one centre, with the individual attention and constant assiduity that have contributed so much to the usefulness and popularity of corporation work."

Assuming (as may safely be done on so high an authority) that these words are not far from the truth, what shall be said of the failure which must also certainly follow an attempt to perform the task on a scale of tenfold magnitude?

Decentralization is an indispensable condition of the good local government of heterogeneous populations like those included within the Metropolitan ambit, because without it two of the most necessary conditions of efficiency, namely, "minute local knowledge and community of interests," would be wanting.

If for the metropolis of the empire a municipal organization shall be devised, constituting free self-governing communities, working together with concurrent action under a superintending central control, and dignified by association with the ancient Civic Government, which is "a relic of a great age in our national story," London may again become to the Londoner "what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles—what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur of his city, punctilious about her claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises."

GEORGE ROBERT TYLER, Lord Mayor.

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REORGANIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY.

BY THE HON. WILLIAM McADOO, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

FOR the past twelve years public opinion has been so strongly in favor of a rehabilitation of the material of our navy, that questions affecting the personnel have, of necessity, been held in abeyance. Very properly it was argued that the first consideration should be the construction of well equipped modern war vessels to replace the old and obsolete types which survived the period of our civil war. Substantial steps having already been taken with this end in view, it is now in order to give grave and painstaking consideration to the character, ability, and skill of those who are to be intrusted with the command of our costly and magnificent floating fighting-machines.

Under existing law, promotion in the United States Navy is a matter of cold mechanical progression which is dependent upon no demonstrated professional merit, but which is based upon the date of commission as an officer, the possession of good bodily health, ability to pass recurring professional examinations which are on well-defined lines, with no official impugnment of conduct as unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. A violent assumption, which no evidence must assail, gives imperial sway to the dogma that place upon the naval register as a commissioned officer is the sole standard of qualification for the most responsible and onerous duties; that the lowest captain on the list must be better fitted to command than the senior lieutenant, the latter of whom may have had much more sea service and shown incomparably more ability in the line of his profession.

That rank and the dignity which it carries are essential to

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high military command cannot be denied, and the present effort for reform of the personnel aims at a quicker and more steady flow of promotion, to the end that the physically and mentally vigorous shall come to command at an age when their powers are at their best, when ambition and habits of responsibility have not been stifled or killed by years of monotonous service in subordinate positions.

The present condition with regard to the officers of the line on the active list needs urgent reform if the country is to get the best possible service both in peace and war from its naval establishment. In order to make the present situation somewhat clear to those who have not investigated the subject, it may be well to state that the number of commissioned line officers allowed by law is 726, composed of 181 ensigns, 75 lieutenants (junior grade), 250 lieutenants, 74 lieutenant-commanders, 85 commanders, 45 captains, 10 commodores, and 6 rear-admirals. In addition to this number, most of our vessels in commission carry a number of those naval cadets who have completed the Naval Academy course of four years and are serving two years at sea before final graduation. To illustrate the rate of progression towards promotion, imagine this body proceeding in Indian file by Naval Academy graduating classes through an inclosure just large enough to accommodate the whole, and entering and leaving through a common entrance and exit. The common entrance is the Naval Academy, and, aside from casualties due to death, resignation, or dismissal, the procession moves steadily along, without change of order, until the exit—the retiring age—is reached.

Under present conditions the average age retirements will not exceed seven during the next ten years, and then, for causes which will hereafter be explained, this average will increase to thirty-three for the following eight years. The annual casualties on the active list average less than three per cent. Considering that a man will not leave his place in the line of this procession until he reaches the retiring age, it follows that if an unusually large body of young men enter the rear of the procession within a short period of time, they will reach the top and middle of the active list together, and there remain for a round number of years blocking like a wall those who follow them. This condition now exists and is the principal cause of trouble. Well to the head

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of the procession is a body of officers slowly moving toward the top, and destined, once there and with a long interval between them and retirement, to stop for many years to come the entire centre and rear of the line. This body is known in the navy as the "hump," and is the result of an unfortunate and short-sighted policy which prevailed during our civil war, by which abnormally large classes were hurried through the Naval Academy during the years from 1860 to 1867. These classes now fill the grades of commander, lieutenant-commander, and the 116 senior lieutenants' positions. Unless some pruning measure is applied to this hump, the officers composing it will for years, and while in the highest grades, entirely block the way of those in the rear.

When in the course of time the hump disappears, the liberated procession in the rear will move with a rush, giving a great number of those composing it scarcely time to change into the uniforms of the different grades ahead of them until, without having time to render adequate service in their new grades, they will reach the retiring age as rear-admirals. Aged lieutenants, capable of having their sons crowd them in the ranks, will be precipitated forward from commander to rear-admiral with scarcely time to have their new titles engraved on their visiting cards before they find themselves on the retired list. And, worse than all for the nation, these men, who have been subordinates all their lives, will suddenly and without experience find themselves intrusted with command and the varied and onerous responsibilities incidental to it. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that command in the navy, which is often exercised in far-distant ports, and which frequently deals with delicate and intricate questions of diplomacy, is very different from the ordinary exercise of authority in an army on land in one's own country; and that, from the very nature of things, the captain of a war-ship in commission exercises kingly authority as compared with military command on the land. He, of necessity, must be the one absolute head to all on board, subject only to the President of the United States, speaking through the Secretary of the Navy. To wield wisely and ably these necessarily autocratic powers, to assume the responsibilities incidental to them, and to accomplish with skill and wisdom the difficult tasks begotten by entangling and delicate diplomatic situations in foreign ports remote at times from even telegraphic communication, require what

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is happily termed the habit of command. Passing therefore by the grievance to the individual officer whose promotion is so retarded, it is seen that the interests of the nation suffer from our inability to utilize in command rank this body of able, ambitious, learned, and brave officers during their years of vigorous manhood when all their powers are at their best. So long as this evil remains uncorrected the nation will fail to receive a fair return for the moneys and care expended on its fleets, and all ambition and life will be stifled out of as fine a corps of naval officers as can be found in any service.

Of all the leading nations, we alone tolerate such a condition of affairs. This is clearly shown in the following table, which gives the number and ages of officers of leading European nations promoted during the past year:

Nation.	Rear-admirals to vice-admirals.				To rear-admiral.				To captain.				To commander.			
	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Number.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.
England	3	54¾	50½	57	3	51	49	53	10	42	37	46	25	37	32	42
France	3	58⅓	55	61	4	53½	52	57	17	48½	42	54	33	44	39	47
Russia	2	58½	56	61	8	50¼	48	53	11	46½	43	50	29	39	36	44
Italy	3	56	54	57	4	50¾	49	53	6	47⅓	46	49	7	39	34	42
Germany*	(†)	....	....	....	(†)	....		....	5	44	43	45	12	40	38	42
United States	‡1	57¾	....	....	§3	59	57	60½	7	49½	47	51	11	54	48	59

* Captains in the German Navy are not allowed to exceed the age of 53. Rear-admirals are made at about 50.
† None in 1893.
‡ To rear-admiral.
§ To commodore.

AVERAGE AGES OF THE LINE OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY.

	1874.	1884.	1894.	1904.*	1908.*	1914.*
Rear-admiral	59	61	60	60	61	60
Commodore	54	58	59	60	60.5	60
Captain	50	51	52	59	60	59
Commander	38.6	42	49	57	59	57
Lieutenant-Commander	31	40	46.7	55	56	53
First 100 lieutenants	30	37	44.5	52	51	46

* Retirements at the age of 62 years only considered.

To quote from Lieutenant Colwell, by whom the above table was prepared,

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"The higher average ages of the French navy are due to the fact that they admit a certain number of older men, graduates of the Ecole Polytechnique each year to the lowest grade of officers; and a certain proportion of warrant officers who may be as old as 35 are granted commissions as ensigns."

The lowest average age on reaching command rank is in England, 37 years; and the highest abroad—44 years—in France, while in the United States it is 54 years. A consensus of the best opinion gives 45 years as the maximum age at which an officer should reach command. Graduating from the Academy at the average age of 23 years he receives the necessary training as a subordinate in his profession and then, at 45, in the prime of life, with every faculty trained to its highest and with a long time to serve his government before his retirement, he can acquire the habits of command and assume with perfect confidence and easy grace the responsibilities and dignities of his important positions and also render to his country the best and highest service.

The effect upon the personnel of existing conditions is to beget discouragement, and substitute for a hopeful ambition and zealous performance of duties a perfunctory execution of the routine requirements of the service regulations. I am right in asserting that this is the tendency of existing conditions, but it would be unfair not to qualify this statement by saying that a high sense of honor and devotion to their profession keeps the standard of conduct and fidelity to the interests of the government very high among naval officers in spite of all their discouragements. The goal of a naval officer's professional ambition is command, and if he is worthy of his calling he must, from the moment he enters the Academy until the day he retires, so devote his every energy and faculty and so train all his powers of mind and body as to be ready at all times for the possible supreme crisis of his career—war.

Our navy is maintained to command peace, but it can only do so by being constantly kept in a most efficient condition as a war machine. However fine the ships and guns, this machine will disappoint the nation in its hour of need unless it is handled by not only the highest ability, but by self-reliant officers who have long breathed the atmosphere of individual responsibility. A good digestion and the lawyer-like faculty of keeping within the naval regulations do not make a naval officer; the true professional work of a naval officer is on shipboard, and he should serve at

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sea for stated periods during his incumbency of all the grades from ensign to admiral. There are certain shore duties that can best be performed by those on the active military list of the service, but the true naval officer who will best serve the country in a great emergency will be the officer who has had most actual experience.

Under present conditions, with promotion almost blocked, an officer in his forties and below the first hundred on the lieutenants' list has positively nothing to stir his ambition, and can only be moved by a sense of personal obligation and of conscientiousness to perform duties which can bring no reward, and which however ably, nay, brilliantly performed, cannot advance him beyond the veriest drone who may precede him on the list. To show that the lower grades in the figurative procession to which I have alluded scarcely move, it need only be stated that the senior ensign (this being the lowest grade in the navy with a maximum annual salary of only $1,400) has already served ten years in that grade, while the senior lieutenant has already served over twenty-one years in the lieutenant grade.

In addition to the evils heretofore referred to, leaving out what may be considered injustices in the staff and auxiliary corps, it will also be necessary to consider legislation affecting the enlisted men and apprentices, a most important part of the military body. Promotion to warrant officer, a possible commission, judiciously distributed rewards, and strong incentives to continuous service, with retirement and other advantages in special cases, seem to be necessary corollaries of any general reform looking to making the enlisted personnel of the navy thoroughly efficient. The apprentice system should be specially considered in its relations to the navy as a source from which crews of Americans can always be secured. It needs watchful care and encouragement, for it must be borne in mind that a proper public opinion will always demand that our ships be manned by American sailors.

The warrant officers—more especially the gunners—form a most important body, and one that should be carefully selected.

That evils such as those herein recited can exist in any branch of our public service without remedial legislative action seems at first sight strange. Needed reforms in the naval service have always been found most difficult of accomplishment, and in consequence nearly all the laws relating to the personnel of the navy

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are shreds and patches inharmoniously joined together, covering many years in their enactment, and with many of them now impossible of observance owing to the disappearance of the causes which led to their enactment. The chief causes which militate against speedy legislative remedies for abuses in the navy may be briefly stated as follows: First—Congressional indifference arising in part from the absorbing character of the great financial and economic questions with which Congress has of late been compelled to deal, and in general, from that natural prejudice against professional military organizations which always exists, more or less, in republics, but which, in our country, should not prevail against the navy, the right arm of our national defence against aggression from without, and a service which can never imperil the liberties of our country. A careful perusal of the Constitution will clearly show that our forefathers did not include the navy in their republican exception to standing armies. Second—The repeated failure of the diverse and more or less opposing interests within the navy itself to agree upon a remedy for existing evils.

The first obstacle can be overcome by a well-informed and strong public opinion demanding reorganization, and by convincing Congress, which I believe can readily be done, that the present system is at the risk, especially in case of war, of the great amount of money expended upon the material of the navy, and that a far better and more efficient public service can and will be rendered at all times by such reforms of the personnel as will give the country the most efficient services of its officers and enlisted men when they are at their best. A wise economy will consider the large amount of property at stake and its possible uses, and will readily lend itself to the aid of such measures as will obtain the best results from the material on hand. The second obstacle will be compelled to give way before a strong public opinion demanding reform for the general good and illy inclined to brook interference arising from narrow and personal interests.

The seeming impossibility of getting the various interests in the navy to meet on common ground compelled Congress itself to take the initiative, and as a result we have a Joint Commission of both Houses now considering this question.

The Joint Commission has before it a mass of instructive in-

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formation in the form of remedies submitted by the Secretary of the Navy and naval officers, tabulated statements of foreign navies, and evidence from officers of all corps who appeared in person, and were subject to examination. The present Secretary has urged reform of the personnel with great zeal, and has been most painstaking in placing before the Commission all possible exact information, and seeing that all corps have been represented.

The remedies proposed to the Commission shape themselves in the following order :

First.—A radical and comprehensive reorganization affecting the line, staff, and marine corps, the end primarily in view being to strengthen the purely military organization, keeping within the present limits of expense. Such reform would undoubtedly excite vigorous opposition on the part of those whose corps or personal interests it assails, and evidently not being deemed feasible has no recognized leader.

Second.—A remedy proposed by the Secretary, the salient features of which were to slightly increase the upper grades; to abolish the grade of commodore; to allow voluntary retirement to a certain number annually of those who have served over thirty years; and when these retirements and the vacancies from casualties and other causes do not reach fixed numbers above the grade of lieutenant-commander, for compulsory retirement of the remainder through selections by a board of rear-admirals; and to allow greater latitude to Naval Examining Boards. As the investigation proceeded the Secretary modified the above and recommended that, instead of the retirements proposed, a "reserve list" should be created for the performance of certain shore duties, and that one hundred officers from the hump be transferred to such list; the creation of annual vacancies of sixteen and twenty, respectively, above the grade of commander and lieutenant-commander; promotion to flag rank by selection with qualifications for promotion from the lower grades.

Third.—An age retirement by which an officer cannot remain on the active list after reaching specified ages in the various grades; and promotions by selection. This is substantially the English system. Modifications of this plan were afterwards submitted proposing selection to flag rank and partial selection in the junior grades.

Fourth.—A limitation of the numbers in each grade; abolition

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of the rank of commodore, all now of such rank to become rear-admirals; a specified number of vacancies to be created each year above the grade of lieutenant-commander, to be by compulsory retirement if necessary; a reserve duty list; a reduction of the classes from 1861 to 1867 by a transfer to the reserve duty list; promotions to be by seniority with conditions as to sea service.

Fifth.—A limitation of grades; age and service qualifications for promotion which increase retirements; reserve shore duty for certain officers; commanders as executive officers of first-rate ships; number of cadets to be commissioned each year limited.

These remedies are here necessarily only sufficiently outlined to show their salient points. The principal features, as will be seen, are: Partial compulsory retirement; partial selection for promotion; reserve duty list; increase of numbers in the command grades; gradual, but sure, reduction of the classes in the hump; age and service qualifications for promotion; and greater opportunities for the enlisted men and apprentices.

It is not necessary to criticise or commend the various plans put forward, especially as the department has submitted its views to the Joint Commission, but it will not be out of order to observe that the systems of selection for promotion and for compulsory retirement will naturally beget the greatest differences of opinion. Those officers who are now reasonably sure of attaining high rank naturally view the matter in a personal light and cannot be expected to look favorably upon either system. No possible reform of the personnel can be effected, however, without some individual interests having to give way.

The opponents of the system of selection for promotion contend that it is not suited to our country and that it could not be surrounded with such safeguards as to free it from the political and personal influences connected with administrative affairs, while its friends insist that a board of five admirals would be as free from ulterior motives and the influences alluded to in their deliberations and conclusions as the Supreme Court of the United States.

Compulsory retirement is not a new idea, it having been tried in the navy by a scrutiny board in 1855. Many believe that the general result then was to the decided benefit of the service.

Unless an age qualification is thought best, there seems no other way of obtaining a healthful forward movement than by a

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compulsory retirement in connection with the proposed reserve duty list; and in order to avoid a repetition of the present evils the inflow from the Naval Academy should be so carefully adjusted as to cause a gradual and steady flow from ensign to rear-admiral.

Having no service prejudices, Congress should, however, have no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion on this subject.

The demands of the staff officers and the frictions and contentions which like warring creeds have at times existed between them and the line have not been considered in this article, because it has been deemed best to centre attention upon a grievous abuse which cannot much longer await a remedy, and also for the reason that the navy is not a civil establishment to be administered in the same manner as the affairs of a line of merchant steamers, but is instead a great military organization created and continued to command peace by being always prepared for war, to protect our rights, to maintain our dignity and conserve our interests abroad, and to prove in cases of foreign aggression an efficient defence to the great country it represents.

The people have expended many millions in creating and maintaining a navy, and they will have no patience with minor interests and prejudices that may attempt to impede or delay reforms necessary to its military efficiency and its wise and economic administration.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

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THE PRIMITIVE CHILD.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

ALTHOUGH the Darwinian doctrine of human descent has now been accepted for the best part of a generation, we have as yet done little in applying it in interpreting the many records of the past which are found in our bodies. The logical tactics necessarily adopted by the pioneers of the movement are to some extent accountable for subsequent slow progress. While the main question was in dispute all advocates of the evolution theory were striving to establish the principle. In doing this it was obviously necessary to use the inductive method. Facts were collected and examined for the sake of observing their general tendency, and were of interest, or the reverse, according as they threw light upon the hypothetical law. The *modus operandi* by which Darwin and Wallace achieved their first triumphs has become somewhat of a pious tradition among their disciples, and has been too slavishly adhered to by many who have essayed to rival their exploits. But it is evident that the methods resorted to for purposes of conquest are by no means those which render a new territory of permanent value to the captors. When the fight is over and the victory won, progress is not aided by mangling the carcasses slain, or by marking time on the field of battle. Now that the principles of evolution have taken their place forever among the axioms of science, we must resort to deductive tactics if we hope to enjoy the fruits of victory.

We must learn to look at natural phenomena through evolutionary glasses, not as people read the prints at an optician's —where the lenses are the chief objects of interest and the characters go for nothing except as tests of the media—but for the

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sake of seeing their meaning more clearly. It is wonderful, when this is done, how many of the most dull and trivial facts of every-day experience become alive with interest. The new philosophy is found to possess a transmuting power which changes the very dust of the earth into golden grains of knowledge.

Let us glance at some of the most familiar characteristics of early childhood, and see what they reveal to us when viewed in this way. If the laws of variation and the survival of the fittest account for peculiarities of structure and habit among other animals, they are equally applicable here. Each trait, whether mental or bodily, is itself a record of the circumstances which brought it into being. As the geologist has learned to interpret the strata, and to reconstruct from what he observes there successive chapters of the earth's strange history, so it should be possible for the physiologist to decipher the writing of the past which is manifest in every detail of the human organism.

In several articles published in *The Nineteenth Century*, the *Deutsche Revue*, and elsewhere, I have endeavored to point out certain evidences of descent from a pithecoid arboreal ancestor which are still visible in the modern infant. On the present occasion no attempt will be made—except incidentally—to carry the story beyond the earliest human period. I hope to show, however, that there is good physiological ground for believing that the epoch of utter savagery lasted an enormous time, and that certain latter-day attempts to curtail the paleolithic age to something under a hundred thousand years receive no support from the bodies of even the most strenuous supporters of such a view.

Generally speaking—as the study of embryology would lead us to expect—young animals resemble their less specialized ancestors more than do adults; and hence, in most respects, the babe possesses more ape-like characteristics than its parents. But to this rule there are some notable exceptions; and exceptional phenomena are always worthy of attention in such an inquiry as the present, because they are sure tokens of some phase of environment which has exercised a special influence in the course of evolutionary development.

With one of these exceptional and distinctly human atavistic peculiarities we will commence our survey.

The most obvious fact about a normal healthy infant which strikes a casual student of this section of the animal kingdom is

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its rotundity of outline. Who would have thought that the fat which cushions a baby's body told one of the most tragic tales of human suffering which it is possible to imagine? Yet this is the opinion to which we are driven by a brief examination of the facts, in the light of evolutionary law. All young and helpless monkeys are very light and slim, for if they were not so their parents would be unable to carry them when climbing and leaping among the branches. During the arboreal stage of man's existence, his offspring must have conformed to the same type; and since the condition had been imperative among all members of the species throughout an immense epoch, the infants of the earliest earth-walking men would not differ from their ancesters in this respect.

How, then, has the human babe, from being originally a spare animal with no superfluous flesh, become metamorphosed into that obese and ponderous creature with which the least scientific of of my readers is familiar? So pronounced and universal a structural peculiarity can only be accounted for, according to Darwinian principles, on the ground that, at some time, it aided in preserving the race from extinction. The causes to which it is attributable must also have been sufficient to outweigh certain obvious disadvantages of the condition, for it is plain that, among wandering savages, who had to travel far in search of food and who were continually liable to attacks of enemies, a helpless and heavy child would be a very hampering burden. Even in modern times, as every physician knows, a fat child is more likely to succumb in certain common infantile ailments than a thin one.

From the fact that the peculiarity is common to the babes of the most diverse races of mankind, it is evident that it arose (in common with all other distinctively human characteristics) before the species became divided into distinct races and distributed over the earth. But this, as the primitive stone weapons found both in the old and new worlds assert, takes us back to a period when the most cultured tribes of men were savages such as the modern Fuegians and Australian blacks. Having got thus far it becomes necessary to propound two questions in order to solve the main problem. These are—(1st): What is the chief physiological use of accumulations of fat? and (2d): What were the special conditions of life among low-grade barbarians which rendered such accumulation necessary to infants?

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Animals which periodically lay on large quantities of adipose tissue either hybernate, like the bear, the bat, and the dormouse; or have to tide over times when food is scarce from drought or cold weather as in the case of the hog, the bison, or the camel. In these creatures the fat accumulated when food is plentiful is plainly a store of nutriment laid up for future use. Arctic animals, such as the seal, live under conditions which have nothing in common with those of primordial man, who distinctly belonged to the tropic and temperate parts of the globe. Although it is probable that among northern nations the naked babe has found its adipose covering useful in keeping out the cold, he certainly did not, in the first place, develop it by way of an overcoat, after the fashion of the whale and the walrus.

Although primitive man did not hybernate, and was probably versatile enough to find food in all seasons of the year, he was, like all modern savages who live by the chase, liable to frequently recurring famines. If game was plentiful the tribe revelled in abundance; but when the hunters were unsuccessful, roots and skin clothing were the chief articles in the *menu*. Now, it is obvious that infantile gums would make but poor play with such tough diet; and at the same time, the babe at the breast would find its usual nutriment almost entirely cut off. In order to tide over these periods of scarcity it was therefore necessary that the primitive child should imitate the provident habits of the bear and the dormouse. By waxing fat in times of plenty, he was able to fall back on his own resources during "the winter of his discontent," when his parents were unable, or unwilling, to provide him with food. We must remember that, even now, it is constantly an open question among the lowest races whether they will be able to hold out during an enforced fast until food can be obtained, and that the mortality of the young and weak from starvation is very great. Not only were our own ancestors similarly circumstanced, but they must have been subject to like evolutionary influences from the tertiary period until comparatively recent times. The severity of the stress to which they were subjected is proved by the fact that the modern healthy babe is invariably plump, whereas the archaic babe must have been lean and spare like his predecessors, whose nursery was among the tree-tops. The difference has been brought about by the constant elimination, by means of death from want, of thousands upon thousands of infants

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of the primitive simian type. In fact only those children who varied in the direction which the conditions of a precarious savage life rendered necessary survived and left offspring.

Hence it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the typical rotund baby, whose elephantine limbs are exhibited by the proud mother to all her friends and relatives, is about as melancholy a monument of human misery as it is possible to imagine!

These conclusions are backed up by other phenomena familiar to all who have carefully observed the habits of little children. The universal tendency exhibited by infants to pick up small objects of all kinds and put them into their mouths is not, in a modern nursery, considered conducive to their welfare. Yet the universal character of the habit compels one to believe that at one time it was an important factor in determining survivorship. It is astonishing what a thoroughly robust and healthy infant will swallow with impunity; and in all probability the crawling cave-dweller had a stomach which was much more tolerant than those possessed by his modern descendants. In times of stress, when the hunters of the starving clan were scouring the country for prey, and the squaws were digging for roots in the forest, he busied himself in a profitable manner among the abundant debris on the floor of the cave, or experimented gastronomically with grubs, caterpillars, and other small deer, as he crept after his mother among the grass.

Although many of the objects ingested in this hap-hazard and impartial fashion would be of doubtful dietetic value, it is by no means a far-fetched hypothesis that such a foraging instinct told for a good deal when starvation was imminent. Nor, probably, did he make so many fatal mistakes as many people would imagine. The modern view of a baby, current among nurses and mothers, is that it is an unmitigated fool with strong suicidal tendencies. The results of the investigations in infant psychology carried on by my colleague in this fascinating branch of the study of human attributes, Professor Preyer, of Wiesbaden, show that the baby has been grossly slandered and misjudged through the fond arrogance of domestic philosophers. No doubt many of the pristine instincts of this (normally) intelligent animal have been blunted and warped by imprisonment in stuffy nurseries or smothered by inordinate swaddling. But in primeval times the infant with the least aptitude for locomotion had wits sufficient

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for his wants, and inherited instincts of self-preservation as trustworthy as those of the crawling puppy or the fledgling bird.

Another common infantile attribute not only confirms the above conclusions as to the crucial environment of the primitive child, but also suggests a grave indictment against the paleolithic parent. I allude to the fact that the majority of our little ones are pleasing to the eye and have inherent winning manners. Their style of beauty is essentially human, and has evidently been evolved since pithecoid standards went out of fashion. I have seen many baby monkeys, and freely acknowledge that they have a certain prettiness of their own, but it is of a distinctly animal type, like that of kittens and ducklings. We do not regard a baby which looks like a young ape as pleasing to look upon, any more than we should esteem one pretty which bore a monstrous resemblance to a duck. Infantile beauty has therefore not come down from arboreal times by the unbroken chain of inheritance, as seems to be the case with the prehensile power in a baby's hands. It was a new departure, and must be accounted for by post-arboreal evolutionary agencies.

Now it is obviously impossible on the present occasion to discuss the whole question of physiological æsthetics. Let it suffice to say that the Darwinian explanation of our innate standards of human beauty is bound up with the theory of sexual selection, and that our ideals, as regards childhood's charms are nearly akin to our ideals of what constitutes beauty in women. But although this may broadly account for the *criteria*, it does not explain how it has come about that most children are pretty. Inheritance may, of course, have something to do with it, and here sexual selection would be distinctly an indirect factor. Yet a pretty child often has a plain mother and father, and itself becomes physically unattractive when it grows up. In the case of the animals already mentioned, and of many others, the beauty of the young is not a reflection of what is most pleasing in their appearance in after-life, but is often the very antithesis of it. We may conclude, therefore, that infantile beauty is to a great extent a thing by itself, and that it required selective agencies of a special character for its creation. Nor need we go far afield to see the process still going on—or perhaps it would be more correct to say, the evolutionary machinery by which such a result might be brought about if we were again exposed to the

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vicissitudes of savage life. Who does not feel more kindly disposed towards a pretty, engaging child than towards an ugly one? Where beauty is present we easily bestow affection, and that affection readily and naturally displays itself in caresses and gifts. In most schools, and in too many nurseries, there is one favorite child, a Benjamin, who—for no superior merit—gets a Benjamin's share of the porridge. If one could get a composite photograph of all and specially petted children, who doubts that the resulting picture would be prettier than one obtained from a like number of children selected by lot? "Kissing goes by favor," and favor is the eternal portion of comeliness.

Among civilized surroundings infantile prettiness, like the indiscriminate voracity already spoken of, is probably rather eliminative than conservative. It leads to the physical and moral degeneration which accompanies a plethora of candy and free-will. But, granting a state of society in which it was often necessary to sacrifice several members of every family of children, can it be doubted that the "flower of the flock" (in the parent's estimation) would stand a better chance of surviving than his plainer brothers and sisters? We have only to turn to accounts of modern savages to find that constantly, in times of war or famine, whole families perish with the exception of one or two individuals. In the case of a night attack on the wigwams probably only those helpless little ones would survive who were caught up by the parents in their flight from the merciless enemy; and under such circumstances a Jacob would have a better chance than an Esau. When the ranks of the clan were being thinned by want, the type of child which is now the spoiled darling of the nursery would "score" in any distribution of such food as might be obtainable. Moreover, among primitive races parental love is much more a matter of instinctive animal liking than among enlightened and civilized people whose conduct is influenced by abstract standards of duty; and therefore those outward qualities in children which still awake instinctive preferences within us were throughout the vast epoch of ancestral barbarism rendered all the more powerful in determining the victors in the struggle for existence.

Although, considering his general circumstances, many allowances must be made for the moral shortcomings of early man, these are not the only facts which compel one to adopt the view

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that he was by no means an ideal parent. Having made out a *prima-facie* case of gross favoritism against him, the next infantile characteristic which we shall examine accuses him (and, I fear, we must add *her*) of habitual indifference to infantile wants. I allude to the astonishing vocal capabilities of the average baby. As far as I can at present see, nothing can account for this tremendous natural phenomenon but a hypothesis that parental duties were terribly neglected in primeval times, and that sharp coercive measures were necessary to keep our distant ancestors reminded of their obligations to their offspring. Let the latter-day father, whose nights are broken by persistent and ear-piercing objurgations from the cradle, transfer his wrath from the vociferous but innocent protestant to his remote progenitor, who was, undoubtedly, the *fons et origo mali*. Nature expends no creative capital unless to meet an actual need, and then never goes beyond the exact point which is necessary to accomplish the end in view. That any baby can squall for many hours at a stretch sufficiently loudly to make itself heard over a considerable area is a fact which is extremely difficult to explain in a manner favorable to the domestic reputation of early man. It also suggests several other inferences as to the life habits of the pristine tribes. All young creatures, such as calves and fawns, which are hidden by their dams while the latter wander in search of food, will, unless actually hungry, remain silent for hours together. Where both parent and offspring depend on concealment in evading their foes, a like restraint is habitually put upon the vocal apparatus. The absolute indifference to external conditions shown by a baby in giving free vent to his complaints suggests that man was never by habit a solitary animal who trusted chiefly to concealment. If this were the case, the family would have been constantly betrayed to prowling enemies by the crying of its irrepressible youngest member. If, on the other hand, prehistoric men dwelt in armed communities for the sake of defence, it is obvious that the nocturnal squalling of infants might contribute to vigilance, and so assist the tribal sentinels in their duty.

It would not be fair to leave this subject without remarking that the same evidence proves that, when sufficiently stimulated by the coercive measures above alluded to, the primitive parent accepted the situation like his modern representative. For it is

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plain, from the universal distribution of this infantile gift, and from the indomitable persistence with which it is exercised, that it has accomplished some useful purpose in years gone by. Babies must generally have got their own way in the end in the past, or they would not show such readiness nowadays to stake all they are worth in attempts to subdue every one around them to abject serfdom.

The fear of strangers exhibited by young children who have experienced nothing but the utmost kindness from every human being with whom they have been brought in contact is a phenomenon which is also only explicable on evolutionary grounds. When we consider that among small clans of barbarians who live by hunting, the words "stranger" and "enemy" are practically synonymous, it is not difficult to understand the development of an instinctive distrust of a new face. In the incessant inter-tribal strife which invariably accompanies such a state of society, the raids of hostile war parties against camps and villages must be of frequent occurrence. Travellers in Africa tell us that as a rule native children vanish into the huts or bushes as soon as the white man is seen approaching. When war is waged in the merciless manner common among savages, a child who always flees at once from a stranger, or who turns to its mother so that she can pick it up instantly and dash into hiding, would stand a much better chance of growing up than one of a more confiding disposition. In the course of many generations such an instinct would become more and more confirmed; for of course those who had escaped death by its exercise during their early years would tend to produce offspring who inherited the same peculiarity. We know, from the distribution of the roughest stone implements, that a state of affairs in which most of the conditions prevailed which are now operative among the aborigines in the wilds of Africa and Australia, continued in Europe quite long enough for the habit to have been acquired in this way.

A fear of being left alone in the dark is almost universal among little children, and yet, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is purely instinctive and is not founded on personal experience. In civilized countries there is no greater danger to child-life in the dark than in the daylight. The feeling of fear generally lacks definition as much as it lacks foundation, but accompanied with it is an imagination preternaturally alert, which confers

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frightful shapes and qualities upon all dimly seen objects. Fear is obviously one of the most effective conservative forces in nature. It is the moral basis of the innumerable shifts of the weak in escaping from danger of all kinds. Wherever we find a special instinct of self-preservation we may at once conclude that at some stage of racial existence it was exactly commensurate with the perils which called it into being. As I have remarked before, nature develops no new organ or quality except to meet a vital want, and has a way of adapting means to ends which does not allow of the least surplus. An organism is as exactly adjusted to its environment as a casting in metal or plaster to the mould which gave it shape. The apparent disproportion between means and ends which we so often see in nature is due to the fact that, while environment changes from age to age, peculiarities of structure or habit which have once become thoroughly established are often perpetuated for an indefinite number of generations. A mould may be of unstable sand, but the casting of stubborn brass which retains its shape for all time. Evolution has reversed the philosophic platitudes as to the evanescence of the flesh. Organized bioplasm renews its youth like the phœnix, and its attributes outlast their mundane causes.

The unreasoning night-fears of infancy may therefore be read as a record of past circumstances which at one time rendered them necessary in preserving life. When the cave bear and that grisly nondescript the sabre-toothed tiger (*machairodus latidens*) were contemporary with the English troglodyte, and when hyenas which could crunch up the shin-bone of an ox like a stick of macaroni were his next-door neighbors, it was obviously indiscreet for a defenceless human being to wander abroad after nightfall. The child which did not fear the darkness as instinctively as a newly hatched partridge fears a hawk, proved himself one of the unfit, and could have had but a poor chance of reaching maturity. It has doubtless been through the continual weeding out of such, that this characteristic of early life became as prevalent as we find it to-day; and when we consider the extraordinary conservatism which marks the policy of the nervous system, it seems probable that, like a hundred other obsolete instincts, this relic of the poleolithic age will outlast modern civilization.

In connection with this subject we may consider the remark-

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able terror which is exhibited by most children of under two years old on seeing anything which resembles a wild beast. This is quite independent of the most elementary knowledge of natural history, and still more so of any acquired information as to possible danger from such a source. I have experimented on my own little ones, and on others, in order to find out what crawling shape they deemed most frightful. This, I thought, might give one a hint of the most prevalent source of danger to children in that prehistoric epoch during which human nature was being slowly shaped and moulded out of the beast-nature of The Thing of the Tree. My *modus operandi* consisted of covering myself (always in the full sight of the child) with a shaggy skin, and then imitating the actions and voices of various dangerous creatures such as the wolf, lion, bear, or dog. These experiments were followed up by showing the children the stuffed specimens of such beasts in the Kensington Natural History Museum. Although they had no knowledge, either practical or otherwise, of the formidable character of animals of such a kind (and also in spite of the fact that the fraud was a patent one), the children all exhibited great agitation and distress whenever the *pseudo* bear or wolf drew near; so much so, in fact, that the "new game" had to be speedily relinquished in most instances.

Of course any results so obtained can be nothing more than approximate hints as to the special eliminative agencies which were instrumental in evolving this strongly marked protective instinct. It seemed to me, however, that anything in the shape of a bear was especially obnoxious, and this opinion was confirmed when I watched the manner in which my little playmates afterwards approached the various stuffed animals in the museum. It is a suggestive fact that in the oldest known cave deposits, such as the lower *breccia* in Kent's Cavern, in Devonshire, the bones and teeth of the bear are found associated with stone implements of the archaic type, but that the lion, tiger, hyena, and other formidable beasts of prey, which were contemporary with man in Europe, did not appear until a much later period. It would be interesting to ascertain whether children of races inhabiting tropical regions have special instinctive aversions corresponding to the historically prevalent carnivora of their respective countries. But, while all such details must, however interesting, be purely conjectural, there can be no doubt whatever that most modern

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children retain a purely instinctive and inherent terror of the animals which, unless our ideas of primeval environment are altogether wide of the mark, must have devoured many thousands of our collateral ancestors in their tender youth.

The jealousy which so many little children display, especially when the possession of some favorite dainty is in question, is another proof that, in the hard times to which allusion has been made, it was necessary for each to acquire as big a share of the spoil as possible. If the morsel chanced to be the last obtainable when a prolonged fast was impending, a selfish and jealous child might, by securing a double portion, hold out while others perished. But it is plain that jealousy and selfishness were not invariably the qualities which were most helpful in the struggle for life during the primitive ages. Most babies, even before they can talk, will ostentatiously offer their nurses or parents a share of their food at the very time when they show the greatest repugnance to giving any to other children. Obviously the primitive child learned by sad experience that, in dealing with adults, a policy of conciliation and reciprocity paid better in the long run than one of brutal acquisitiveness. We see precisely the same motives prevalent to-day in political and commercial affairs.

In like manner one might take in order every trait, whether physical or moral, of early childhood, and show that each is attributable, not to any such conditions of environment as exist in civilized countries, but to circumstances which are only found at present among the very lowest tribes of men. When we consider that man's moral nature has undergone no essential change during the thousands of years of the historic period, it becomes evident that an inconceivably prolonged epoch of savagery must have been requisite for the development of all these distinctively human characteristics in the first place. Moreover, since children are practically alike all the world over as regards their innate instincts and habits, it seems evident that these characteristics must have come into existence before the human species split into various races and spread over the surface of the globe. But when we are asked to measure this vast æon by years, the biologist is even more at sea than the student of geologic chronology.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

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SIDELIGHTS ON THE EXPLOITATION OF EGYPT.

BY THE HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, U. S. DIPLOMATIC AGENT AND CONSUL-GENERAL TO EGYPT.

AMONG the nations of the earth stands one unique in history and in unusual and paradoxical conditions. Surprising and fascinating as it was to Herodotus, even so is it to the observer of to-day, who easily discovers why the Land of the Nile has so long been written of as Egypt the Mysterious, the Inexplicable, and the Unexampled. And the student who interprets the trend of current events must admit that the twentieth century will dawn on a new Egypt, Egypt the Prosperous, ruled by a Khedive thoroughly in earnest in his resolve to mark his reign as one of humanity and progress.

The country's political condition has no parallel. Nominally a province of the Ottoman Empire, it is also autonomous, subject to an annual tribute to the Sultan of about $3,500,000. The title of its ruler means sovereign, or king, without qualification or limitation; yet the country is in a great measure administered by six European powers, who practically hold it in trusteeship for creditors, one of which is dominant and in "occupation" with an army and hundreds of civil functionaries. Egypt is purely agricultural, yet has no department or ministry of agriculture.

Whatever its degree of abundance in forgotten ages—and in Biblical times it was a land flowing with milk and honey—the era of utilitarianism and practicability, now fairly launched, will for the next few years be sufficient to draw universal attention to the old land of Pharaoh and Joseph.

Until recent years Egypt represented a large part of north and central Africa. But since Gordon's death and Hicks Pasha's defeat the process of territorial contraction has been rapid. The

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whole of the upper valley of the Nile and the vast regions under Egyptian rule, extending almost to the Equator, are lost—"abandoned," say English chroniclers—and the deposed Ismail sees his hopes of a magnificent empire perish, never likely to be realized by his khedivial grandson.

But now comes the season of expansion—not to be accomplished by battling armies, diplomatic victories, or purchased acquisitions. Irrigation is to be the factor—the irrigation of definite science, rather than of chance or guesswork, and the scheme is grand enough to take its place with the building of the Pyramids and the Suez Canal. Stated simply, it is the doubling of the cultivable area of a country dependent on the soil

The Egypt of the map shows upward of 400,000 square miles, an area seven times as great as New England; but the practical Egypt—that which sustains life—is not as large as the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut together. This is the ribbon-like strip of alluvial land bordering the Nile, and forming, strictly speaking, an elongated oasis in the desert. As readers know, Egypt is almost rainless and dewless. The exploitation is no less magnificent in conception than the forcing back of the Libyan and Arabian deserts so far that nearly two Massachusetts and two Connecticuts may be brought under the plough. This is exploitation in its true sense, and its accomplishment will be a verification of the saying that Egypt is the Nile and the Nile is Egypt.

The Pyramids and the Sphinx have borne testimony through the centuries to the grandeur and power of execution which dwelt within the Nile Valley. And what more fitting now than that the same valley be the theatre of a gigantic engineering exploit, audacious, but of almost certain results?

Until recently the Nile was a blessing only half appreciated; but a mightier Egypt is at hand, whose fertile fields will extend beyond the horizon upon those sands where now only the camel contends with primitive nature; and the same Nile on which Moses was cradled will be harnessed to man's purposes and guided by canals far into that desert through which he led the children of Israel.

What an object-lesson in the application of science! It can have no more interested observers than in America, especially in Colorado, Nevada, and California, and other States of the West,

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where the irrigation expert is succeeding the railway builder as a developer.

I will claim a wider audience, comprising every person interested in cotton culture in the United States, however remotely. Thirty years or so ago, when that dauntless English traveller, Samuel Baker, gave to the world an account of his researches in equatorial Africa—which proved that the Nile had its origin in Lakes Victoria and Albert—he went so far as to say:

> "The Nile might be so controlled that the enormous volume of water that now rushes uselessly into the Mediterranean might be led through the deserts to transform them into cotton-fields that would render England independent of America."

To read these lines in the light of subsequent events, with England taking as keen an interest in Egypt as if it were part of the British Empire, causes one to ponder long and deep. Sir Samuel Baker was a far-seeing man; and his gift of prophecy was his strongest characteristic, in my judgment.

The expansion so generally discussed means more to the people of the United States than they realize. But I will treat the work in its universality, leaving the sidelights of American interest to be made apparent.

The question of irrigation was considered and experimented upon by the Pharaohs and Ptolemies; it must have been, as in their day Egypt was the granary of the world. When Napoleon conquered the country in 1798, his engineers and *savants* were given the task of augmenting the cultivation of the soil, that the peasantry might be lifted from degraded poverty. Mehemet Ali laid down the sword for the plough, and irrigation affairs have ever interested his successors. The Barrage, near Cairo, ministering to the fertility of the Delta, was built by them, with the aid of French constructive skill; and the reign of the present Abbas promises to be rich in triumphs of this order, whatever the nationality of the engineers whose abilities play a part.

Since the events of 1882, a feature of the British coöperation in repairing the broken fortunes of the Nile country has been enhanced irrigation. Engineers of other nations have devoted untiring study to the safe storage of the surplus waters of high Nile, that they may be systematically employed during the months of low Nile, when the whole country is athirst; and none more unselfishly than Cope Whitehouse, an American, who has spent the best

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part of ten years and much money in an intelligent study of the subject, keeping it persistently before the notice of the Khedivial Government. His Lake Mœris project, however, is not considered adaptable to giving the thirsty upper Nile Valley its water for summer crops. It would be a boon to the Fayoom and the Delta, and may eventually be utilized. It is argued that the money to be expended belongs to every husbandman in the land, and that all should be benefited. This is a reason for placing the reservoir above Assouan, from whence its waters would reach every section of industrial Egypt.

As in the case of all great works, there are many plans and theories for accomplishing the same end. Each has points of merit, and drawbacks more or less grave.

To better assist the Public Works department of the Egyptian Government in a decision as to the best plan under submission, a committee of three European hydraulic experts was called to Egypt a few months ago, and the matter laid before them in its entirety. It has been generally spoken of as an International Technical Commission, and the opinion was current that it had plenary power to select a plan. I cannot discover why the commission was called "International," in a sense applicable to a country where six powers must be consulted on all questions involving unusual financial outlay, and fourteen powers on measures pertaining to judicial and sanitary questions. The commission naturally was headed by an English engineer, Sir Benjamin Baker, of Forth Bridge fame, and his associates were a Frenchman and an Italian. Every effort to have an American included, as advised by no less a judge of such matters than Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, was futile.

The several projects were laid before the committee, presumably, to select the one possessing the most obvious advantages, independent of æsthetic and archæological considerations. Four contemplated the construction of a dam across the river; and another, originating with Whitehouse, proposed to employ a depression in the desert, which, when filled, would be as large a body of water as Lake Geneva in Switzerland.

Imagine the consternation of every person in the Old and New Worlds, of artistic or classical tastes, when the English and Italian members of the committee reported in favor of a dam seventy feet high at Assouan, which would bury from sight the

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ruins of the Island of Philæ, that most brilliant gem in the diadem of Ancient Egypt. This was to art an unhappy verdict, indeed, whose devotees could not believe that the spoliation of Philæ was demanded. Every one applauded the magnificent prospect of increased prosperity to Egypt, but the clamor for another site was great—a site that would reconcile the interests of agriculture with those of history, art, and archæology.

Newspaper dispatches followed, stating that representatives of the Department of Public Works had gone to England with plans of machinery required for building the Assouan dam. This accentuated the feeling of horror to such an extent that the press of Europe cried out against the impending sacrilege.

Meetings have been held by many learned societies to protest against any disturbance of Philæ, and their memorials are pouring into Egypt. In England, the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt has been untiring to save Philæ and the dozens of temples and remains in close vicinity. Besides its memorial, widely signed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, others of similar tenor and purpose have been prepared in France by the *Académie des Inscriptions* and by about 250 of the foremost members of the *Institut de France*. In Germany about 600 distinguished persons, including Egyptologists, professors, artists, antiquaries, archæologists, and literary men, have joined in a very strong protest. Sir Frederick Leighton, President of England's Royal Academy, has not hesitated to say that any tampering with Philæ would be a lasting blot on the British occupation of Egypt.

The ruins of Philæ are the most imposing and beautiful monuments of Upper Egypt, owing to their peculiar situation upon a rocky island commanding the passage of the Nile above the First Cataract. Assouan and this neighboring island are the objective points of hundreds of Americans every winter, whether they journey by the independent dahabiyah, or under the guidance of that universal benefactor, Cook, whose enterprise opened the Nile to travellers of moderate means or limited time. The German lines of steamers running from New York to Alexandria have made of Egypt the winter playground for thousands of well-to-do Americans, and many go to Philæ. Some visit the Nile for that purpose alone.

England's diplomatic representative, Lord Cromer, evidently

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feeling that an outburst of disapproval would follow the announcement that Philæ was in danger, officially informed his government:

"It will, in the event of the Assouan project as it now stands being, from other points of view, considered preferable to any other, be necessary to consider what weight should be attached to the archæological argument based on the evident undesirability of submerging or removing the temple of Philæ. I still hope that some plan may be found for conciliating engineering necessities with the archæological interests which are at stake."

Mr. Garstin, the astute Under-Secretary of Public Works, an Englishman, one of whose associates had advised the removal of the precious temple to an adjoining island, or to lift the entire island of Philæ to a height clearing the flood line of the proposed reservoir, recorded his views in these words:

"Any work which caused either partial damage to, or the flooding of, this beautiful temple would be rightly considered by the whole civilized world as an act of barbarism. Moreover, it would be an act not absolutely necessitated by the circumstances, for we have other possible though somewhat inferior sites upon which to construct dams."

On the other hand Mr. Garstin says:

"Could the removal of the temple be successfully carried out, I cannot myself see that it would be an act of vandalism, which, as I read it, is a term meaning the wanton destruction of interesting relics."

Sir Benjamin Baker favors the raising of the island, as a whole, some twelve feet, and offers to do it for a million dollars, guaranteeing its safe accomplishment.

Think of moving Bunker Hill Monument to another site, or placing it on stilts, to reconcile it to a new order of landscape gardening!

The engineers who advocated the moving of Philæ did so because the Assouan site offered superior advantages from an engineering standpoint. The foundation of the dam would be a solid bed of granite. A situation farther up the river, at Kelabsheh, which would leave Philæ unmolested, would insure exactly the same benefits, it is claimed by competent judges, but the foundation would be sandstone. Public opinion is almost unanimous in demanding that it be adopted, if Egypt is to place on her frontier any dam ponding back a hundred miles into Nubia a body of water sufficiently vast to leave no living thing in Egypt's valley, were it liberated by foe or accident.

The French engineer advises against a great storage reservoir anywhere, favoring a series of smaller dams extending nearly to

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Khartoum, to carry out which plan would necessitate a conquering army to precede the battalions of masons and diggers.

I would call the attention of scholarly America to the jeopardized position of one of the world's greatest treasures, in the country that begot science and learning. All talk about removing Philæ is too fantastic even for the pen of a Jules Verne. If its wondrous structures are disturbed at all, let them be re-erected on the Island of Rhoda, at Cairo. This would carry the spirit of utilitarianism to its utmost degree, and bring to the doors of the tourists' hotels one of the incentives of a winter's voyage up the Nile.

It is difficult to believe that the recommendation of the English and Italian engineers will not be set aside in deference to the opinion of that greater jury—the public.

To complete a Nile dam and its canals no less a sum than fifteen million dollars will be necessary. The money is actually in hand, the result of an economy effected by the recent conversion of a portion of the nation's debt from a high rate of interest. The six European powers will approve its expenditure in so promising an improvement, as a mortgagee favors the making of repairs on a bonded property, at the expense of the mortgagor. The Egyptian treasury will expect to be recouped, two or three years after the completion of the reservoir and its system of distributing canals, in taxes levied on the land as it becomes productive. Financially it presents a roseate future, certainly.

Naturally there will be obstacles, structural at least, whatever project is agreed upon. But those who express opinions publicly, in Egypt and Europe, touch slightly upon them. When one learns that the population is comfortably occupied with the cultivation of the present area, he appropriately asks where the increase of labor to till the double Egypt is coming from. Irrigation is not going to supply it, and it is not easy to induce the people of the Soudan and Nubia in any numbers to take up husbandry under Egyptian masters. I shall look to labor-saving machinery to solve the problem, however great the fellah's aversion to it, and I would like to see American implements and inventions succeed the slow-coach tools of mediæval times in the hands of those tilling the new Egypt.

Perennial irrigation is agreed upon by all taking part in the country's management, and it means much to the United States

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of America, if those assisting the Khedivial Government possess the opinion expressed by their countryman, Explorer Baker, thirty years ago. Every acre wrested from the desert by the magical mud and water of the Nile will be capable of producing a bale of cotton, superior enough to command a quick market, presumably to the exclusion of a bale of American-grown cotton, for Egypt is already our aggressive competitor in that important fibre.

Whatever the crop may be in the Southern States, it surely is "king" in Egypt, with the Delta of the Nile for its throne. The soil and climate are so perfectly adapted to cotton raising that it is the governing crop, and brings enough money to the country to indirectly pay the interest on the enormous debt created by the lavishness of Ismail, and is so surely redeeming the land from the grasp of its creditors that Egyptian bonds have sold at a premium during the recent times of financial distrust.

Eight or ten years ago Egypt was insolvent. To-day she is bristling with prosperity. The position of the fellaheen is constantly improving. The *corvée* is abolished, and the people have no more compulsory labor, except to keep the Nile within bounds at high flood, for which they are paid. The land taxes are gradually being reduced, and extortion and corruption seem to have been stamped out. She sells cereals enough to pay for the imported articles necessary to maintain her simple standard of life. I can't help thinking that cotton—or the money it produces—has played a part of no small importance in the work of administration that has brought all these blessings.

A bird's-eye view of the area of cotton cultivation would give the outline of a half-opened fan. From the point of the Delta near Cairo it stretches nearly to Port Said on the northeast and beyond Alexandria on the northwest, this simile being helped by the great arc curving into the Mediterranean, the narrow strip devoted to cotton along the Nile from Cairo, a hundred miles southward, forming the handle. This area is veined with innumerable canals, branching from the Rosetta and Damietta arms of the Nile, which distribute the vitalizing waters.

The soil, first created by the deposits of the great river and ever fertilized by it, is perhaps the richest in the world, and is tilled with such ease and certain results as to compel the New

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Englander who sees it to draw a comparison between farming at home and that occupation there. The Egyptian peasant is by instinct at once farmer and irrigation expert. With two or three primitive implements, such as a wooden plough, a mattock, and a water-hoisting "shadoof," his labors are blessed with success beyond the possibility of tillers of the soil elsewhere. The Nile, the cause of this fertility, brings from the Abyssinian mountains the deposit so wonderfully rich that other fertilizers are unnecessary, and the subsidence of the annual flood leaves the ground in a condition requiring scarcely more than a scratching with the plough to prepare it for planting. This done, the farmer has only to raise water daily from the river and direct it to the roots of his crops. Experience teaches him to "rotate" cotton with a less exhausting cereal, and he never has drought, frost, labor or tariff questions, or other serious menace, to deal with. His family supplies most of the labor, the women taking a lighter share of the work. This peasant has few ordinary comforts. He subsists on a meagre vegetable diet, receives no governmental documents dealing with agricultural facts and statistics, has no need for newspapers—in fact, only knows how to read the Koran. His concern in life appears to be, with Allah's help, to grow a good crop, harvest it at the right moment, and dispatch it to the nearest ginning establishment, get his cash, or be released from financial obligations, pay his land tax, and renew the lease of his farm. The land tax is heavy, and he has little money left after paying his rent to the landlord pasha, living in Cairo or Alexandria.

Added irrigation provided, what I have pictured as a half-opened fan—the Delta—may be unfurled on its western boundary almost indefinitely, and cotton would certainly have preference over other crops, as the Delta is given up to it. The incalculable increase of acreage there would come into definite competition with our country, while sugar and corn would naturally follow the alluvial extension between Assiout and Assouan.

This year's cotton territory is at least 1,072,500 acres. As desert soil is reclaimed, cotton cultivation is extended in preference to other crops, for Egypt's long staple commands a ready market at high prices. This accounts for the increase from 329,000 bales in 1882–83 to 680,085 bales in 1892–93. An Egyptian bale weighs from 700 to 750 pounds, against our bale of about 500 pounds.

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Good Egyptian cotton brings from one to two cents per pound more than American upland cotton, owing to its superior staple and silky appearance, and the entire stock is exported. Last year it realized upwards of $45,000,000. About ten years ago Egyptian cotton was introduced into the United States and its advantages so successfully explained to millowners of New England that the trade grew with astonishing rapidity, until the exportation from Egypt aggregated upwards of 42,000 bales in the season of 1892–93—the equivalent of more than 60,000 American bales—valued at over $2,500,000, and constituting 2¼ per cent. of the staple consumed last year in America.

To the casual reader this will be surprising, and he will be slow to believe that the United States—which produce twice as much as the combined crops of India, Egypt, Brazil, Peru, Turkey, and the West Indies—ever imported a bale of raw cotton.

This year's cotton area is the largest ever planted in Egypt, and I can predict the greatest crop in the country's record, namely, 700,000 bales, or the equivalent of 1,050,000 American bales. This prognostication will reveal, to one who analyzes closely, that the Egyptian fellah gets what would be an American bale from an acre, while the Southern grower considers himself fortunate to secure a bale from two acres, as cotton lands run. Over-production has few terrors for the Egyptian, and he can stand a falling market better than the American grower.

Those interested insist that the use of Egyptian cotton is not antagonistic to home principles, for with its strong staple between an inch and an inch and a half in length, it is employed in the production of fine underwear, balbriggan hosiery, and fine threads requiring a finish for which home-grown cotton is unsuited. It gives to fabrics a gloss like silk, which makes it invaluable for use in cotton-mixed "silk goods." Further, it is claimed by those wishing to prove that it does not conflict with American cotton, that its use has developed a profitable business in manufactures for which the latter is not adapted; also that native-grown staple is utilized in a manner impossible without the imported article as a basis. What argument is made by Southern planters against the importation of this *coton de luxe* I am not informed. The Egyptian cotton has almost entirely superseded American cotton abroad for the production of lisle thread goods. The extent of its introduction in this country would be

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enough to show that it must be making even greater headway abroad. Outside the United States it is largely used where Sea Island was formerly.

Resourceful America, I believe, can fortify her position in this matter. The Egyptian staple having an admitted value for special manufactures, why should not our agricultural genius meet the want? The suggestion is obvious to one aware of the enormous demand for the Egyptian fibre, which is clearly a favorite. Who can say it will not be the cotton of the future?

With our range of climate and soil, any crop should be possible. One would suppose the Mississippi bottom lands would offer conditions approaching those of Egypt. I am glad to know that the Agricultural Department is taking a very active interest in this question. Experiments should be systematically pursued until the South can supply Northern mills with cotton as acceptable as that produced by the fellaheen of the Nile. The prospect of offering this particular staple to Europe in competition with Oriental labor presents little hope, as possible reductions in land rent and taxation would give the Egyptian—content with a fraction of the pay of the workingman of the South—a lead not easily to be overcome, without reference to the quality of his cotton.

A writer in a Boston journal, commenting on a recent communication by me to the State Department, on the subject of the marvellous growth of the use in America of Egyptian cotton, goes into an analysis of the business, admitting that the Egyptian article is a necessity for diversified manufacture, and that its use is more helpful than otherwise to our cotton manufacturing interest. He goes further and affirms that the cultivation of long-stapled cotton in the South can be effected only under forced conditions, high natural or artificial richness of soil, and comprehensive husbandry, costing money and intelligence.

If money and intelligence may be made useful in supplying domestic spindles with domestic fibre of the highest grade, we can command the situation, surely.

Cotton growers of India until recently believed they could not produce long-stapled cotton. Now, as a result of judicious experiment with Egyptian seed, they find they can, and purpose entering the field of competition.

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

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THE RENAISSANCE OF WOMEN.

BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET.

WHAT has changed woman's outlook so that she now desires that of which her grandmother did not dream? This is the question that is asked to-day from pulpit and platform, in magazine and newspaper, with fatiguing reiteration. Is the woman of our time less feminine in her instinct, less domestic in her tastes, or less devoted to the interests of her family? As well might we ask whether the man of our time is less courageous because he no longer buckles on a coat of mail to wage an endless war with his near neighbour; less honorable because he does not avenge insult in a duel; less devout because he no longer believes that by conquering a distant land and planting the cross instead of the crescent on the heights of Jerusalem he is doing God's work in the world. Times have changed, and with the years the standard of social custom changes also. Woman, like man, is adapting herself to her environment. In ancient days her home was a great domestic manufactory of which she was the head. The flax was spun, the linen woven, by her deft fingers; the bread was baked in a glowing oven under her watchful care; and by her the perfume was distilled from summer flowers. She was the artist whose embroidery decked the cathedral and the palace; for home was not only the factory that supplied domestic wants, but the studio whence came the choicest objects of skill and beauty But with the birth of applied science the marvellous invention of man robbed her one by one of her employments. The steel fingers of machinery replaced her skillful and ingenious hand; the city bakeries provided food; the sweet perfumes of flowers were perfectly imitated in a thousand chemical laboratories, and tapestries and silks were woven to the tune of steam while the roomy old homesteads disappeared and

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rows of little houses took their place where operatives eked out a monotonous existence. The school with kindergarten attachment undertook to educate her children's powers; trained nurses watched over the pillows of the sick, and woman with folded hands looked out upon the world, her employment wellnigh gone. In view of such a situation, the reasoning mind must ask, Is not woman to adjust herself to these far-reaching changes, even as man has suited himself to the new environment that steam, electricity, and the printing-press have brought to him? The arts and crafts that centred for centuries in the home have expanded until they have become the possession of the world, and man has taken them under his supervision. Why, then, should not woman keep her native place in the world's economy by the regulation of that wider home which has now spread outside the four walls of her own house, and which we call society and government, and take her place with man in framing laws that affect the well-being of those who formerly worked within her kingdom, but who now dwell outside, in that larger family circle that we call a nation?

The arguments used by those who oppose woman's entrance to public life are in these days usually based on the line that woman is too sacred, her influence too pure and precious, to be frittered away in the sordid quarrels and mean ambitions entailed by party politics; that her presence has ever been the magnet of the home; and that the nation will be wisest and best that preserves the sanctity of its womanhood and the influence of its mothers. It is precisely because I believe in the truth of this argument that I maintain that to debar woman from any one single right, to exclude her from any prerogative, is to create for her not only a disability by reason of her sex, but to build up a barrier that must ever effectually hinder her widest influence. It is well to talk of the mother guiding the son in life, but from the hour that the boy understands that his mother's prerogatives end at the garden gate, that she has no voice whatever in the moulding of the nation's laws, that her precepts are good for the fireside but unavailing at the hearthstone of government, there insidiously creeps into the boy's thought a realization of the fact that his mother is classified by the rulers of the land with the lunatic and the idiot; and I maintain that this discovery has done more than sons are themselves aware of to undermine the influence that is

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deemed so precious and yet which is sedulously preserved for "home consumption" only. Moreover, to deprive a government of the keen moral sense that is native to women as a class (though, to the great hindrance of humanity, they have too long admitted that their moral standard must necessarily be higher than that of man), is to rob the nation of a strong support by which it would undoubtedly benefit. Another argument that is brought forward to prove that woman does not need to have a share in government is that her interests are ably represented by men. If this be so, women are the only class "ably represented" by those who have in many instances a wholly separate interest from theirs. The very fact that the question of the woman's vote has been so long treated as a subject fit only for stale and silly jokes, or to be put aside with pompous platitudes, is in itself sufficient proof that women's interests are not guarded with the same care as men's; and the code of laws that places property in the hands of the husband, gives him complete power over the children, and protects him in conjugal authority over his wife, proves the impracticability of securing justice to women as a class until they themselves have an equal voice with men in the making of the law.

We have been told that woman's true work comes to her in the gentler calls of a sorrowing world; that her leisure should be spent in assuaging misery and suffering, and in the exercise of that charity which man has not the time or inclination to dispense: but there is probably no surer symptom of the change that is coming over society at large with regard to the great social problems of the age than the view now taken of the best methods of dealing with poverty and crime. This change is the outcome of the slow, but sure, sifting of social questions that is going on in the minds of all classes. Charity was considered to be a sort of moral patchwork; it was excellent for the soul of the giver, and helped the recipient to exist under circumstances that would otherwise have been intolerable. But it was, and is still, unconsciously, too often a mere ethical anæsthetic. We have many of us in England passed through the phase of going from cottage to cottage in country districts or in those village towns which abound in our land, listening to the oft-repeated story,—"twelve shillings a week, ten children, afraid to complain—the farmer from whom the wretched pittance is earned would turn us out. There was scarlet fever (or typhoid) in the village last year, the inspector came

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and we may get the sewage altered. They say the water is bad." We have looked out on the sunny pastures, standing at these cottage doors, and heard that the sick baby can get no milk; it is all sold at the farms for butter. "My husband could do with a bit of land or keep a cow, but it is all let away in big holdings, and there isn't a rood to be got." And as we have put down the half-pound of tea or the few yards of flannel on the little table, the absolute conviction has come to our minds that such charity is but a palliative to our consciences, and we go away with the feeling that with the priest and Levite we looked upon the sufferer, saw the real condition and passed by on the other side. Tennyson sang long years ago:

> **Lady Clara Vere de Vere,**
> **If time be heavy on your hands,**
> **Are there no beggars at your gate**
> **Nor any poor about your lands?**

The words were true, wherein they prescribed for the mental malady of Lady Clara, but let her not imagine that she is doing other than taking into the midst of her artificial surroundings a very little of that wholesome tonic which contact with the realities of life must bring. I do not underrate the self-denying efforts of any who give their lives to make the existences of those around them holier, purer, and more wholesome; but I maintain that true philanthropy means the dealing with cause and not effect, searching out the root of evil and attacking it at all risks; not pulling down the leaves from poisoned boughs in the leisure moments of a summer's day.

I am well aware that Lady Bountiful is popular; that it is her happy fortune to minister to the wishes of all. She presides at the sumptuous dinner party, and with her fair hands carries the crumbs to the "beggars at her gate." But I know also that she will become unpopular when she dares to pass beyond the circle of her guests into that wider world where she will seek to know from those who solve such problems, the reasons that laid a fellow-man beggared at her door, and when although she succors him she determines so to work that none may take his place; and I maintain this is the only charity to which the thinking woman can turn her powers of mind and heart to-day.

The more we seek to unravel the tangled skein of reasons that are given to prove that woman must not face the great

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public questions of the time, or endeavor to enter "the maze of politics," the more clearly we understand that these many reasons resolve themselves into one, and that one is the disability of sex. It is not education that is wanting, because the higher education now places many women far above the level of the ordinary voter, some on an equality with any statesman, and the average woman on an absolute equality with the average man. Nor is it the question of property that can now bar woman's way to the polling booth. From the hour that the married woman's property was restored to her, she was at least allowed to become an individual. The grotesqueness of the old *régime* that prevailed only a short time ago in England became so apparent when a certain poor man married a rich woman and made a will by which he kindly left the woman her own property on the generous condition that she should not marry again, that as the sequel of public agitation men granted this measure of justice to women.

We are continually reminded that the whole basis of good government is founded on the fact that taxation and representation go together. It can therefore only be sex disability that deprives a woman of the power to vote when she is compelled to pay taxes. In this respect I do not find men anxious to represent women; in fact, I have never found a male citizen keenly desirous to represent my interests when the tax collector called. Again, woman is an individual, and her individual right is fully conceded when she is to pay the penalty of any ill-doing or when she receives a death sentence from the lips of a jury of men.

I presume that the argument that is supposed to be almost crushing as to the disability of woman to take her share in national politics is the fact that she does not fight; but I do not think woman does not fight because she is unable to do so. It may be true that the myths of the Amazons are lost in so hazy a past that we are not able distinctly to glean any definite facts as to their origin; but we are well aware that among savage tribes in our own time woman's strength and woman's prowess are called into action, that kings' bodyguards have been formed of women, and that as far as physical strength goes, woman, at any rate in a savage state, is as capable of bearing hardship and fatigue as man. Any one who has seen the Indian squaw carrying the baggage of the family on her back while the man leisurely

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sits on his horse smoking his short pipe, cannot feel the slightest doubt as to woman's equality in physical strength; at any rate the Indian has realized it and made practical use of his knowledge.

This whole outcry of "one vote, one sword," is founded on a fallacy. It is true that the barbarous tribes who were wont to put their women in the van as fighters have all died out. To what is woman's exemption from military duties owing? To the desire of men to represent her on the battlefield? Not at all; it is owing to natural selection. The mothers who are the makers of men had to be guarded for the benefit of the tribe or the nation; otherwise that nation would suffer in its survival.

Women have a greater *rôle* than that of fighting; they are the fountain of the race, at which it recruits its losses, perpetuates its hopes, and conserves the results of victories already gained; and I maintain that if service to the nation is to count as a chief article of faith for the voter, the service—aye, and the dangerous service—that woman renders every nation is far greater than the occasional facing of a Maxim gun or the remote contingency of a bursting shell. There is hardly a woman who is not called to come face to face with death; who does not go down into the great Gethsemane of suffering, and with the dew of eternity on her brow give to the world its sons and daughters. It is woman's fight for the race, the fight in which she too often gives her life. It is a greater service to bear soldiers than to bear arms.

I now revert to the fact that there is a severe loss to the nation in the disability of woman to vote, because it places her, in the estimation of the citizenship, on a lower level than men, and it leads to the degrading belief that man can afford to have a lower standard of morals than woman. It leads, also, to the demoralizing idea that woman was created for man's pleasure, and from this concept is recruited that great army, sad and sorrowful, that has for long ages trodden the stony way of shame. There is no class of women who can ever be justly set aside to fulfil purposes of evil because it is necessary that men should sin; but it is from this immeasurable indignity that has sprung, undoubtedly, the idea that women are inferior to men, and, therefore, must be debarred the rights of citizenship. If it be true that a certain class of women must ever be appointed to fulfil the duty that Lecky terms "the mission of the sad priestess of humanity,"

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I believe that the middle ages took a far more logical view of this question than we do now, for then such women were recognized among the guilds that paraded the towns on hey-days and holidays, a class whose existence was a necessity, and who, therefore, carried on no dishonorable calling. We naturally shrink from such morality as that, but the existence of any class of women who are degraded by doing that which does not unfit man morally or socially for the duties of citizen and of a future husband honored and beloved, is far more debasing in its effects upon the nation than the crude brutality of the mediæval times.

There is another argument that I believe to be, if possible, more fallacious than any yet examined; namely, that the right to assert her political individuality will cause the disruption of the home. The age is too far advanced for such arguments. Women has discovered herself; she has realized that she possesses a soul with all that that word implies; a soul fraught with that mysterious loneliness which envelops every human being that looks up to the great beyond, not knowing whence it came nor whither it is going. Shrouded in that inner recess which no man can touch, no human being approach, lies the consciousness that is always lonely save as it realizes the presence of God. And unless the marriage tie respects this individuality, instead of being the dearest and the best bond that can brighten any human life, it will become the detestable chain from which woman will pray to be released. The only way in which the tie of home can ever be destroyed will be by endeavoring to chain the woman who has as much right to be free as the husband at her side.

I believe that woman should vote because she is a different being and always will have a different work to do in life from that of man. She has a divine task to accomplish. You intrust her with the most sacred duty on earth; you ask her first to give the nation her children; you ask her to nurture and care for them; you ask her to instil into their minds the holiest aspirations that are to be their guide in after life; you ask her, with all her experience and her judgment, to look upon the world with its many social evils that her mother's eyes are swift to see while yours are blinded, and then you ask her to believe that it is "justice" that her voice should be silent, her action powerless to guard the interests of her girls whom you declare that men, and men alone, must represent. You ask her to sit through long

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weary nights rocking the cradle, but when the child grows up to manhood you say that she has no right to deal with those questions that make for the weal or woe of his future life. You do not deny that in many cases women maintain the home by their own labor, that by the "sweat of their brow do they eat bread," that the children owe their education, their clothing, the roof over their heads, to the work of their mothers' hands; you do not ask the men of the state to "represent" the women when they have no one to earn a living for the children who are deprived by death of a father or deserted by a worthless husband; but only when you come to the edge of the Rubicon, where toil is merged into privilege, and penalties pass over into power, do you say to the woman, "Stand back; thus far and no farther!"

"The broadest and most far-sighted intellect," Wendell Phillips has truly said, "is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change; but ask yourselves on all such occasions if there is no element of right or wrong in the question, no principle of clear, natural justice that turns the scale; and if so, as in the past so in the future, the men of this country will take their part with perfect and abstract right, and they will see the expediency of it hereafter."

It is possible that woman may not take the same view of imperial politics as has been taken in the past by man; but man's views are changing, and it may be that woman's influence on politics has had some effect in bringing about that change. Suffice it to say that should women take a different view it may not be that it is less wise, less just, less true, but rather in this dawning day when the nations are beginning to understand the brotherhood of the race, men may learn that real brotherhood can never exist so long as one-half of humanity is ignored in the councils of the world. For eternally it will be true that "man and woman, dwarfed or god-like, fall or rise together."

The world has seen the renaissance in art and literature; the renaissance in religion; it has watched the slow dawning of the renaissance of human brotherhood: are we not now entering the epoch of the renaissance of woman?

ISABEL SOMERSET.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SALOON.

BY THE MOST REV. JOHN IRELAND, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

HOWEVER limited in their immediate application, decisions of high courts usually work out far-reaching results. They set forth the spirit of laws and institutions and establish a standard of action which provokes compliance. This is decidedly the fact in the ruling of ecclesiastical law, recently handed down by the appellate court of the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Francis Satolli, which sustains the edict of the Bishop of Columbus, excluding liquor-dealers from office, or even membership, in Catholic associations.

Some months ago the Rt. Rev. John A. Watterson, Bishop of Columbus, published for his diocese the law that no existing Catholic society, or branch or division thereof, shall be allowed to have a liquor-dealer or a saloon-keeper at its head or among its officers; and that no new Catholic society, or new branch of an old organization, shall be formed which would admit even to membership any person engaged, whether as principal or as agent, in the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors. A supplementary clause of the episcopal edict excludes from the sacraments of the Church saloon-keepers who persist in selling liquor on Sundays, or otherwise conduct their business in an unlawful manner. This clause proclaims no new law. It merely rehearses the ordinary prescriptions of Catholic moral theology; but it is worthy of special notice, bringing, as it does, into clearer light the intent of the preceding regulations by which, manifestly, the penalty of exclusion from Catholic societies falls upon liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers as such, even when by a departure from the general custom they conduct their business in a lawful manner and do not deserve the more grievous penalty of exclusion from the sacraments.

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From this law an appeal was taken by a society of the diocese of Columbus to the highest Catholic tribunal in the United States, that of the Apostolic Delegate, and in due time a decision was given sustaining the bishop in all points. "Those three things," writes Monsignor Satolli,

"which are expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval not only of Catholics, but of non-Catholics in your city; not only being in harmony with the laws of the Church, but also seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio. Therefore those things which the Right Reverend Bishop has commanded in his decree I approve, and I decide that they are to be observed. And if, perhaps, for the time being they seem to hurt the material interests of some, this will have to be patiently endured for the good of the many and the honor of the holy Catholic Church."

The law of the bishop is affirmed, and the reasons of the law are accepted and approved by the Delegate.

The law as made by Bishop Watterson and ratified by the Delegate is confined to the diocese of Columbus. At the same time, a notable victory over the saloon has been won for the whole United States. It is plain that, if other bishops issue like laws for their respective territories, their action will be sustained by the higher powers. Whatever may be done within other jurisdictions, whether bishops consider the saloon-power already sufficiently curbed in their dioceses as to render further restrictive measures unnecessary, or whether this power is so reckless that prudence counsels more cautious methods of attack, the American saloon is branded with the disfavor of the Church. Henceforth Catholic public opinion frowns upon the saloon and the saloon-keeper; saloon-keeping is a disreputable business, and the saloon-keeper, however correctly he conducts his particular saloon, still, because of the general malodorousness of the business in which he is engaged, must not, and will not, be permitted to appear in any capacity as a representative of the Church or as a prominent Catholic; he must, and will, be kept aloof from all places of honor and distinction in the Church.

The action of Bishop Watterson and of Monsignor Satolli makes no general law for the Church in America; but it forms Catholic public opinion for the whole country, and public opinion is often more potent than law. As to its effects, the saloon in Ohio is much the same as the saloon throughout the United States; the opprobrium which it incurs in Ohio deservedly falls

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on it in other States, whether this opprobrium is there crystallized or not into a law; the hands which in Ohio drive the saloon into obloquy practically mete out to it the same penalty throughout the country. Whoever understands the force of religious public opinion among Catholics will easily read the signs of the times, and perceive that among the Catholics of America the saloon is a doomed institution; saloon-keeping is a disgraced business, from which Catholic instinct will shrink.

The American saloon has of late fared ill at the hands of the Catholic Church. In 1884, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the decrees of which were approved by his Holiness Pope Leo XIII., bids Catholics who may be engaged in saloon-keeping leave this business, and "choose, if they at all can, some other more decent method of making a livelihood." Now comes the decision of Bishop Watterson and Monsignor Satolli, telling saloon-keepers that Catholic societies cannot afford to tolerate their presence. Things have moved far since the days when saloon-keepers acted as if they were leaders and princes of the people.

No small share of opposition has in certain quarters been manifested to the decision of Monsignor Satolli, and considerable efforts have been made to distort its meaning and minimize its influence. This was, naturally, to be expected, and one need hardly take pains to give reply. The decision will, of its own momentum, work out its results; time will justify its wisdom and secure for its illustrious author the grateful blessings of religion and of society.

One view taken by the opponents of the decision should, perhaps, be noticed on account of the notoriety which it has received through certain classes of newspapers. The real point in the letter of Monsignor Satolli is, we are told, the refusal to set aside an order promulgated by a bishop; the Delegate simply declines to nullify a regulation prescribed by the Bishop of Columbus for his own diocese; and, hence, nothing can be deduced from the words of the decision which would bear unfavorably upon the saloon. An interpretation of this kind betrays ignorance, not only of the meaning of a decision of an appellate court, but even of the very words in which the decision is couched. No appellate court worthy of the name, not, surely, that of Monsignor Satolli, sustains the decision of a lower court merely on the ground of

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giving to the latter comfort and support: it sustains the decision on the sole ground that the reasons alleged for it are of sufficient weight and cogency. In upholding Bishop Watterson's decree, Monsignor Satolli necessarily judges, with him, that the saloon in America is a nuisance so baneful and malodorous that the Church, for her own honor and in pursuance of her mission to propagate good morals and to save souls, must make plain her disapproval of it. Moreover, Monsignor Satolli makes use of words which leave no doubt as to his own mind on the subject. He says:

"Those three things expressed in the letter of the Right Reverend Bishop have the approval, not only of Catholics, but of non-Catholics in your city; not only being in harmony with the laws of the Church, but, also seasonable and necessary to the honor of the Church, especially in Ohio."

The Delegate is a man who thinks with judgment, and writes in terse, clear language; his meaning stands in need of no commentary.

The Bishop of Columbus does not refuse to saloon-keepers or liquor-dealers, as such, the sacraments of the Church. The refusal of sacraments is one of the last penalties inflicted by the Church upon her members. The threat of this penalty is seldom made to classes of men; it is reserved, rather, for the individual, in retribution of his own personal acts. In the tribunal of penance the saloon-keeper is held responsible for what he personally does, and not for what his class do; outside this tribunal, in *foro externo*, he may more easily be made to suffer from the shame which belongs to his fellows. Catholic theology does not teach that saloon-keeping is, in itself, a sin. If the saloon-keeper happens to be the ideal one—never selling to men who are likely to become intoxicated, never selling to minors in violation of the law of the land, never opening his saloon on Sunday, never voluntarily allowing around his counter blasphemy or obscene language, never turning his saloon into a den of unjust and injurious political machinations, in a word, observing in his business the whole moral law, divine and civil—he may be absolved and admitted to communion. Further than this the Bishop does not let him pass. Saloon-keeping, as a rule, the Bishop decides, is practically bad, and productive of many evils; over it hangs a heavy cloud of social and religious disgrace; even the ideal saloon keeper cannot rid himself of its shame, and upon him, as upon his whole class, the Church frowns in anger and sorrow, and amid Catholic gather-

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ings and Catholic works she bids him retire to corners of silence and obscurity.

In all that is being said the American saloon alone is considered. We are not now dealing with the saloon or its substitutes in other countries, where matters may be better or worse and requiring a different treatment.

The American saloon is responsible for the awful intemperance which desolates the land and which is the physical and moral plague of our time. The drink which intoxicates is dealt out in the saloon, and there temptations to use it are multiplied through conscious and deliberate plannings. Let us waste no words on the saloon *in se*, on the possible, or ideal, saloon; when this is discovered, and is something more than a rare exception, it will be time to discuss it. The saloon of to-day trades in and battens upon intemperance, and all the dire evils which accompany or follow from intemperance are to be laid at its door.

What can the Catholic Church do, if she is loyal to her professed principles, but raise her hand in opposition to the American saloon, and put herself on clear record as its antagonist?

The Catholic Church does not assert that the moderate and legitimate use of intoxicating drinks is a moral evil, or sin. Neither does she assert that the manufacture and the sale of intoxicating liquors are of themselves moral evils, or sins. All this is clear and undoubted. But there are other and important aspects of her teaching and practice which the Catholic Church will not, and cannot, have us overlook. In her eyes intemperance is a sin, heinous and soul-wrecking, whose victims shall not possess the kingdom of Heaven. For intemperance she has a particular hatred, accounting it a capital sin, the prolific parent of innumerable sins. Intemperance is a malignant form of the sensual indulgence against which the Church, as the religion of the Crucified One, the religion of evangelical counsels and evangelical self-denial, is obliged to declare relentless war. The subjugation of sense, the triumph of soul over body, which come through abstinence and disciplinary self-sacrifice, are throughout her whole history the predominant features in the holiness of her saints and heroes, whom she holds up to us as models. Intemperance is, on the contrary, the triumph of sense over soul. In its strong moods it completely annuls the action of the soul; in its weaker ones it stirs passion and arms it for victory. The

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Catholic Church renounces her own life and principles when she ceases to combat with all her might imtemperance, its causes and alliances. The American saloon is her foe : between her and the saloon there can be no truce.

In movements making for higher moral life, stronger civic virtue, better government of men in whatever appertains to their temporal or spiritual happiness, where is the place of the Church of Christ if not in front of the most advanced combatants, as teacher and leader ? Where else would Christ be ? Where else should be the Catholic Church, which makes the claim that she is His Church, His formal and commissioned representative in morals and faith ? The supernatural, moving over the earth, unites with and confirms the best action and aspiration of the natural : else it should not be recognized as descending from the skies. Now, in the convictions of the American people, and as a plain matter of fact, the American saloon is a personification of the vilest elements in our modern civilization. It means, in menace and in actual work, death to virtue, to piety of soul, to peace of family, to the material, moral, and intellectual welfare of the people, to the free institutions of the republic. The church that would prove herself to the country as Christ's must speak boldly against the saloon ; her sentinels must neither sleep on her watch-towers nor lack the courage of the battlefield.

The peculiar circumstances into which the Catholic Church in America has been thrown create a special obligation for her to make the country understand that she is opposed to the saloon. The anomaly exists that with the principles and traditions of temperance and self-denial which we have noted in her, the accusation has been made against the Catholic Church in America that she is lenient toward intemperance and courts alliance with the saloon. Nor is the accusation devoid of all apparent grounds.

A large proportion of the intemperate and of the liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers of the country profess membership in the Catholic Church. This lamentable fact has its explanation. The Catholic Church has a numerous membership among the poorer classes of the population. The servant and the laborer, the occupants of the tenement-house and the cheap hotel, are very often Catholics. They are immigrants from foreign countries where poverty was their portion, and they do not accumulate wealth immediately on reaching our shores. The Church is not ashamed to

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own them; it is a divine mark of Christ's Church to preach the Gospel to the poor. Yet, it is plain, their lot subjects them to strong temptations to intemperance. Fatigue of body, loneliness of heart, pains of poverty, lead one to use the bowl, which will drown sorrow and give momentary surcease from the hardships of toil. The aids to sobriety, which are lent by cultured thought, cheerful hearths, elevating companionship—although even these do not always keep off intemperance—are not the belongings of the poor. The sole clubroom open to them is the saloon. No wonder that they frequently drink, and drink to excess.

When the poor man, who has his own dreams of independence, seeks to go "into business," one sort of business is within his reach, the saloon. But little capital is needed for the enterprise, and that is willingly loaned to him by the brewer, the distiller, or the ward politician, each of whom will gain in money, or votes, a hundred-fold for the investment. Some consideration is due, also, to the previous conditions and social habits of immigrants, and we must judge them somewhat from the stand-point of their own history and ideas. Catholic immigrants come from Ireland, or from countries of southern and central Europe. Irishmen bring with them a natural temperament and customs begotten of ages of political thraldom, which incline them to the use of strong drinks and saloon-keeping; but for all this the Church, assuredly, can be made to bear no responsibility.

Immigrants from the continent of Europe had been drinking beer and wine as Americans drink tea and coffee; they had lived amid beer-gardens and cafés, which, to say the least, are very different from our saloon. Arriving in America they demand beer and wine, alongside of which they find in our saloons the more baneful alcoholic potions. Some among them will minister to the tastes of the others, and a substitute for the beer-garden and the café is opened, which from the influence of environment rapidly puts on all the aspects of the full-fledged American saloon. Immigrants and their immediate descendants grow slowly into our American ideas, and with difficulty understand the trend of public opinion, or perceive the evil workings of our American saloon.

We shall not deny that, as the natural result of these facts and conditions, the Church suffered. Saloon-keepers made themselves the centers of groups of their countrymen, whom they guided in the novel road of American politics, and whom they

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sought to guide, also, in religious affairs. They were officials in church societies, marshals in church processions, chairmen in church meetings. They contributed liberally—as a matter of business—to church works, and paid rent for prominent pews. The public opinion of Catholics towards intemperance and the saloon was to a degree perverted, and things were done and allowed which appear at first sight inexplicable to persons more conversant with American ideas and practices. At times clergymen feared to offend the potent saloon-keeper; they softened the tone of denunciation when treating of intemperance; if total-abstinence was mentioned, emphasis was laid on the peril of running into the Manichean heresy—that liquor in itself is morally bad. At church fairs and picnics liquor was sold; religious societies at their annual outings kept their own bar and paid high tribute to it; at certain church fairs punch-bowls were voted to the most popular saloon-keepers; Catholic papers admitted into their advertising columns paid notices of saloons and liquor-stores, and, in one instance, a brewery invaded the grounds of a monastery. What was all this but an encouragement to patronize the saloon? And the saloon was patronized with a vengeance, and intemperance among Catholics was growing apace.

The Catholic Church in America was compelled, for her own honor and in loyalty to her mission, to set herself right before the country on the saloon question. She did so energetically in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore; she has done so no less energetically this present year, through the Bishop of Columbus and the Apostolic Delegate. The mind of the Church is manifest. Individual Catholics, Catholic societies, may follow the Church, or they may adhere to their own counsels and oppose her. But from the doings of such as these the Church will fear no reproach: she stands on record as the determined foe of the American saloon.

JOHN IRELAND.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

DROUGHT FIRES.

If sins and errors could be classed according to the risk of their natural penalties, the folly of forest destruction would probably head the list. Spring floods, summer droughts, sandstorms, and insect plagues, all nearly exclusively due to the reckless waste of arboreal vegetation, have turned the garden land of the Old World into hopeless deserts, and the inland regions of our own continent are threatened with the additional horror of yearly drought conflagrations.

Two hundred years ago these visitations were known only in the form of prairie fires. The aborigines of the Western forest States took no special precautions against the spread of their campfire blazes, and, indeed, often burned out the dry leaves of an entire mountain range to facilitate the search for nuts, but the forests were protected by the perennial moisture of their own atmosphere. In the Tennessee highlands, where I passed the summers of fifteen successive years on the comparatively dry ridge of the Chilhowee Range, I have seen the traces of nut-fires that had spread over a thousand acres of ground without causing a thousand cents' worth of actual damage. They had consumed the dry leaves, windfalls of dry twigs and mountain grasses (that could be relied upon to sprout up the next spring none the worse for the sprinkling of fertilizing ashes); here and there an old stump had been set a-fire, and in October bunches of pine knots could sometimes be seen flickering for days together, but the live trees had resisted the blaze, and the bushes were only singed or smoke-blackened to the edge of their sappy branches. After the lapse of six months the appreciable vestiges of injury might have been summed up in the retarded growth of a few whortleberry patches. Far different results are apt to follow the spread of a campfire in woodlands devastated by the activity of the lumber fiends. In Michigan, western Pennsylvania, western New York, Minnesota, and Wisconsin the tall trees of districts measured by hundreds of square miles have been felled and their dead branches scattered along the ground, together with dry leaves and chips of resinous wood. After the end of July the air currents reaching these half-cleared backwoods from the west are generally as dry as the breath of the Lybian Desert, and the moisture of the breezes from the east and south, too, has been absorbed by their passage over vast areas of parched hills and cotton-fields. By the middle of August the appearance of the vegetation resembles that of the Australian bushlands after a rainless summer. The foliage of the brushwood, no longer protected by the canopy of leafy trees, becomes yellow, then yellowish brown, and as dry as sun-heat and drought winds can make it. The facilities of combustion resemble those of a wrecked match factory, exposed to the glare of a furnace-fire.

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In dry seasons effective precautions against the risk of a devouring conflagration become more and more difficult, and at last practically hopeless. The fatal spark may come from the engine of a passing train, from a smouldering cigar, from a bivouac of tramps or berry-gatherers. The mere love of mischief may prompt a schoolboy to celebrate his summer vacations with wood fireworks. An acre of burning weeds may escape detection till the flames have reached the brushwood piles, where resinous twigs and dry pine leaves flare up like gunpowder cotton, and within three hours after the rise of the first whirl of warning smoke the fire may have attained a rate of progress defying the control of anything short of a cloudburst. In a dead calm, a conflagration of that sort might "burn itself out" on a limited area, bordered by creeks or sand-roads; but experience has established the curious fact that a drought conflagration nearly always generates its own gales. The superheated air ascends and creates a vacuum, which is filled up by air currents rushing in from all sides with a violence proportioned to the difference of atmospheric pressure. Borne on the wings of those whirlstorms, showers of sparks are scattered in all directions, and overleap obstacles that would have stopped the flight of a feathered arrow. The citizens of Hinckley, Minn., had surrounded their little town with a "fire ring" nearly one hundred yards wide, by burning or sweeping out every wisp of combustible substance; but they might as well have opposed their brooms to the cannonade of a shell battery. An eyewitness' report says:

"About three o'clock in the afternoon the fire literally jumped into the town. Its approach was not gradual. It did not cut its way along, devouring everything in its path, but came on in huge leaps, as if to overtake everything fleeing before it, and then burn back at its leisure. The intense heat had developed a veritable whirlwind of flame that actually twisted off poplar trees several inches in thickness, and gathering huge blazing firebrands high in the air and carrying them forward from forty to eighty rods, there to fall and recommence the work of devastation."

The vehemence of that fire-tornado may be inferred from the fact that it overtook a swift-running passenger train of the St. Paul & Duluth Railway on the down grade to Mink Lake. Seeing the track crowded with refugees, the engineer stopped his train and took aboard about forty men and thirty women and children, with such bundles of household goods as they had been able to gather up in their hasty flight. By that time the horizon ahead was a sea of raging flames, and, after a hurried consultation with the conductor and express messenger, the engineer decided to turn back and try to regain the safe meadow lands of the lakeshore. But the cinder-storm was close at his heels. To the left and right of the track the woods caught fire, and a flame-wind that would have made a gust of an African simoom a blest relief almost took away the breath of the devoted crew and blistered their arms through their drenched shirts. A fireman extinguished his blazing clothes by leaping bodily into the watertank, and then seizing a bucket dashed it several times over the blazing engineer. The train was running under a full head of steam, but the cinder brands flew ahead of it, and the conductor estimates the speed of the pursuing storm at sixty miles an hour. Hot air, almost deprived of its oxygen, affects the brain like a narcotic poison, and when the cars themselves caught fire the passengers, already frenzied with fear, seemed to lose their wits altogether, and some of them actually leaped into the midst of the flames.

The voice of the flame-tornado out-roared the clatter of the train, and the horrors of the next ten minutes must have rivalled the scenes on board

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of the Chilian supply-train that had to run the gauntlet of the rebel sharp-shooters. A burning bridge crunched and swayed as the locomotive rushed across, but the engineer stuck to his post till he was stopped by a chasm sixty feet wide and filled with the debris of a trestle across a little lake that proved the salvation of the half-roasted passengers. The train, tank-car and all, was burned to the trucks of the wheels. If the breath of that gale could burn its way through a water-tank, it is no wonder that the few remaining copses of greenwood failed to resist the havoc. Like the Chicago monster fire, the conflagration prepared its own fuel; for the spark-whirls parched the foliage the succeeding flames were to devour; and four miles north of Hinckley two hundred persons were burned in a swamp, where they had taken refuge in the hope that the rank vegetation would stop the progress of the fire. Fifty persons were burned with their houses at Sandstone, Minn., twenty at Kettle River, thirty at Rutledge and Pine-town, along the line of the Minnesota Southern Railroad, and, altogether, some five hundred human beings may have perished in a single forest fire—perhaps not the worst, and certainly not the last, of the present summer.

The only remedy against the repetition of such horrors can be found in precautions against the wholesale destruction of woodlands, and especially in the "isolation system" of the north European foresters. Instead of being allowed to sell large tracts of forests, to be devastated at the pleasure of greedy speculators, the proprietors of wooded districts are required by law to spare the *hoch-wald* ("high woods") of all mountain ridges too steep for the successful pursuit of agriculture, and utilize the forests of the plains in rotation, sparing the trees of certain sections till the saplings of the adjoining (cleared and replanted) areas have time to grow up, and taking care that each new clearing shall be surrounded by a broad belt of flame-resisting greenwoods. By the strict enforcement of that regulation and the careful removal of brushwood piles, the spread of forest fires has been almost entirely obviated even in countries like eastern Prussia and the Austrian Alps, where sixty to eighty per cent. of considerable areas are still covered with stately pine forests.

That prevention, in such cases, is better, because far more practicable, than cure, has been only too dearly proved by the experience of the last fifteen years, but the necessity of legislative reform is rarely admitted till the significance of the danger is brought home, *in terrorem*, to the citizens of populous settlements like those of the Minnesota lakeshore counties, where the veil of the smoke-clouds almost turned day into night, and where the approach of the conflagration could be *felt* from a distance of fourteen miles, even in buildings protected against the drift of the cinder-showers.

Even now, the demand for a revision of our forest laws is only local; but we should remember that the same agencies that have modified the climatic conditions of the upper Mississippi Valley are at work throughout the territory of our Atlantic seaboard. A risk from which the happiest geographical position of any country on earth could not protect sea-girt Asia Minor is steadily increasing with the progress of aridity, and before the middle of the twentieth century the last remaining forest, or rather brushwood, reservation of east America—the upland region of the Apallachian mountain system—may be swept by a fire-storm from the sources of the Potomac to the rock gates of the Tennessee Valley.

F. L. OSWALD.

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THE PREJUDICE AGAINST FOREIGN PHRASES.

It is difficult to see reason in the objections urged by many against the use of foreign phrases whenever it is possible to avoid them. The day of American indifference to things trans-atlantic is indeed gone by; nor is it probable that the extreme position of Mr. Bryant in excluding foreign phrases from the daily paper of which he was editor will ever again be taken by a man of his breadth of mind. The current is setting in another direction, and a due regard for other standards than our own in art, in politics, and in the amenities of life is replacing the disposition to ignore them. Yet that contempt for things foreign which reached its height some fifty years ago was too deeply rooted not to survive in certain modes of thought, and to this source it may not be altogether unreasonable to refer the dislike of foreign phrases. No doubt the abuse of classical quotations and French phrases by ornate writers has prejudiced many against even a moderate use of things good in themselves. Yet it is hard to see why a happy medium may not be struck between use and abuse.

The objection not infrequently made to foreign phrases on the ground that their introduction into an essay or novel presupposes more learning than most readers have, is of little weight. It is scarcely to the credit of an educated American that his habit of getting at the contents of a book in the shortest possible time will not permit him to puzzle out or inquire into the meaning of an expression he has never before encountered. True, the well known books of reference or the legendary lady from Philadelphia may not always be at hand. But we will estimate that nine-tenths of the quotations commonly made are from the French, German, and Latin, and that of these at least half are current coin. If such expressions as *fin-de-siècle*, *zeit-geist*, and *nil admirari* are stumbling-blocks to the reader, his acquaintance with general literature cannot be wide, and it is not for him to take exception to them. The Russian, German, or Frenchman who reads and thinks, as a matter of course understands more than one language, and is not worried by a citation from *Hamlet* or *Paradise Lost*. Keats did not deem it necessary to translate his refrain of *La Belle Dame sans Merci*. Yet many excellent writers make a point of appending a transalation to every quotation they make, and of course much depends upon the class of readers a book is intended to reach. But the practical American wishes to know why in nine cases out of ten anything more than the English rendering is needed. *Cui bono* is his motto—I crave his pardon for a phrase he would undoubtedly repudiate—and Emerson's theory that where a bridge has been provided it is hardly worth while to breast the current, has settled the question for more than one mind. But even a bridge has its limitations, of which the uncompromising notice, "No gait faster than a walk" is only the outward sign. Surely the mental and physical sensations experienced in walking or riding over—Wordsworth on Westminster Bridge to the contrary notwithstanding—are not comparable to those derived from swinging or sailing across. When Renan repeated to his sister a certain saying of Augustine, would she have been likely to seize upon it and make it her life-motto if he had only given her the French equivalent? Was it not precisely the untranslatable element in the words "*In angello cum libello*," simple to baldness as they seem, which explains their hold on her mind? In reply to the suggestion that in this case rhyme and symmetry of arrangement are the only untranslatable elements, I venture to assert that the same is true

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in the majority of cases. In all languages under heaven sound is so interwoven with sense that the most powerful effects, whether in prose or poetry, may be very largely accounted for on the ground of a particular arrangement of vowels and consonants. In imaginative English the instinct of rhyme at the beginning of a word is only less active than in Anglo-Saxon verse, and though many have found it even more irritating than the recurrence of foreign phrases, I cannot help thinking that in our language, at any rate, a certain amount of alliteration, initial or terminal, is necessary to the immortality of a sentence. From "Little Latin and less Greek" or "Cleanliness is next to godliness" or "Spare at the bung and spend at the spigot," there is scarcely a current expression which does not bear out this theory; nor can we be sure that such sayings as "Beating round the bush," and "Telling a hawk from a hernshaw," would retain their homely force were it not for the single repetition of an unobtrusive consonant.

Perhaps if our schools paid more attention to the genius and less to the grammar of a language it would be easier to detect a practical value in the material accumulated by teachers and scholars. What our language has in common with Latin, what it has in common with German, what it has in common with French, ought to be pointed out to every student capable of appreciating the vital connection. I believe that the pronunciation of a language like the Italian, which has furnished our entire musical nomenclature, should be taught as a matter of course, even to pupils who have no intention of studying Italian. Indeed I think an approximate idea of the pronunciation of French, German, Spanish and Italian should be imparted to every young man or woman about to enter good society, and I am convinced that a system of education which aims at completeness should include a knowledge of all foreign words in general use.

The seek-no-further is a North American product, and that ought to endear it to every inhabitant of the New England and Middle States. Ought we then to banish the pineapple from our banquets?

LUCY C. BULL.

A NEEDED PROFESSION.

IT is curious that the people of this great country should look calmly on, without raising a dissenting voice, and see their savings swept away from time to time, in consequence of the lack of a proper system of examining accounts.

Much has been said, if little has been written, on the subject of the incompetency of bank examiners. It is unfortunately true that men are frequently appointed as examiners through political influence—men who have absolutely no banking experience, no knowledge of figures, nor even the elementary principles of bookkeeping, and who scarcely know the debit from the credit side of a ledger. If incompetency were all that could be charged against examiners appointed under the present system, it might be bad enough, but it is on record that men of dissipated habits are sometimes selected, who are not only likely to neglect their duties, but are only too ready to make accommodating reports for a consideration.

As to railroads, it is a fact that a dozen or more American railroads are now in the hands of receivers, and it is fair to assume that if the audit of these corporations had been made by independent professional accountants, the causes of insolvency might have been avoided, or at least the state of bank-

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ruptcy would have been disclosed at the outset, thus affording creditors and stockholders a chance to save something from the general wreck.

In the case of private or "close" corporations, a few have their books audited by expert accountants, but a very great majority run along without any outside supervision—frequently to their cost. Now and then one encounters a president of a corporation who declares that he would not hold office for a day if the books of the concern were not audited periodically by an expert, but considering the number of embezzlements and defalcations which are reported almost daily in the public press, it is astonishing how very few private corporations or firms employ a professional auditor.

It is, however, useless to diagnose the disease without being able to suggest a remedy. The recent scandal in connection with a prominent railroad has aroused a storm of indignation which will undoubtedly greatly help to bring about the adoption in this country of the system which prevails abroad, of having corporation accounts examined periodically by professional accountants. Until this is done, a solid argument is presented against confidence in many securities which are offered for the investment of capital. "Comparisons are odious," but competent judges agree that the English system of audit is the best protection the investing public can have against unscrupulous management. Probably many people do not know what the English system of audit is, and it may be explained that no railroad or "joint stock" bank could exist in England whose books were not periodically examined by experts; and no "limited liability company" or corporation could float its stock there unless the prospectus contained the name of a respectable and independent auditor.

Accountancy is a recognized profession in England and Scotland, and has held an honorable place there for very many years; so many, in fact, that we find it upon a firm footing in these countries two centuries ago. The auditing of accounts, public and private, was intrusted to men who made a specialty of the business; and there is mention of accountants in the diary of Samuel Pepys, under date of June, 1667, in which the reference is evidently made to public officials. In Scotland at the same period accountancy was a distinct profession, ranking with that of barrister, and in England, half a century later than the allusion of Pepys, a volume was pubished in which "professed accountants" are referred to in complimentary terms. The Institutes of Accountants are now corporate bodies holding Royal charters—that of the Scotch being dated 1854 and the of English 1883. Their ranks are recruited from the wealthier classes, a fact which will be readily understood when it is mentioned that a premium of five hundred guineas (about $2,600) has to be paid by the novitiate to the Chartered Accountants on signing "articles of indenture"; an apprenticeship of five years has to be served, and the candidate has to pass several stiff examinations before he can receive his diploma and practise as a chartered accountant.

The apprentice has to study hard, and in his period of probation he becomes acquainted with the most varied and intricate methods of accountancy, as well as many phases of human character. He is taught to be courteous and polite, but firm, self-reliant, and able to promptly suppress any attempt at "bulldozing," and, above all, he is impressed with the necessity of keeping his own counsel. Discretion is as important to him as to a lawyer or a physician, since he is frequently the recipient of confidences the divulgence of which would mean ruin to his client. The reputation of a professional man is his capital, and cannot be too jealously guarded. The accountant's

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duties carry grave responsibilities, and he has to exercise the greatest care in the preparation of balance sheets and certificates of profits, as he is liable in damages for any errors of commission or omission. If bank examiners and railroad auditors in this country had been placed under similar obligations, millions of dollars might have been saved to confiding investors.

Mr. Shaw, during his tenure of office as Consul-General at Manchester, treating on this subject, reports to his government as follows:

"It may be well to state that the system of 'Chartered Accountants' is regarded in England with great confidence and favor. There is a well-organized and specially educated class of accountants whose business consists in supervising the accounts of private firms, public companies, banks, etc. By paying a retaining fee to a firm of chartered accountants, any one can have the books of any enterprise with which he is connected carefully examined by an expert, without in any way casting suspicion on bookkeepers, cashiers, secretaries, or others. The practical effect of this system is this: that bookkeepers and those responsible for public or private trusts know that, at any time, they may expect a visit from an accountant, sent by the firm in whose charge, in a sense, the books are placed: This plan has many obvious advantages, which will readily appear to every one. Many gentlemen connected with public or private trusts are virtually at the mercy of bookkeepers and haphazard 'auditors,' men who are frequently unfitted to exercise the important functions they are called upon to perform. In England the public accountants furnish a cheap, efficient, and responsible agency whereby the books of any concern, either public or private, can be properly and perfectly examined.

"It is largely the custom in this country to retain these 'Chartered Accountants' to supervise the books of individuals, corporations, etc. The system is well known and highly esteemed, and when an accountant comes to examine the books, no one regards the professional examination with the least aversion or suspicion. It is a business custom, and as such is looked upon as a necessary and desirable custom. I believe that a similar organization in our country would become most useful and popular. There is a wide field for its operations and great need of some better professional inspection in a multitude of interests, both private and public. In the belief that this English system of 'Chartered Accountants' is worthy of the fullest examination, and also of being adopted by our people, I have taken the liberty of furnishing these details, and transmitting full data bearing upon the laws, regulations, forms, etc., of this organization."

In the United States, it is true, the profession is still in its infancy, but the New York accountants have taken the lead by forming the "American Association of Public Accountants," which includes among its members many of the most able men in the profession in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. This association is making commendable efforts to elevate the standard of efficiency, and has founded a School of Accounts under the University of the State of New York, holding a charter from the State, where young men will be instructed in the science of bookkeeping and accounts, and taught the higher principles of accountancy.

At the present moment we are face to face with a question which, perhaps, does not come strictly within the scope of this paper, but which may be briefly referred to. Now, that the Income Tax has become a law, who is to make the necessary examinations of the affairs of corporations and private individuals? Shall it be the prototype of the bank examiner—notoriously incompetent—or the professional accountant, skilled in such investigations, with a high reputation for probity?

J. LINDSAY REID.

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